Pacific School of
Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

(13)

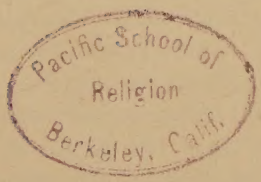
THE EXPOSITOR

VOL. I.

THE EXPOSITOR

NINTH SERIES

Volume I



HODDER AND STOUGHTON, LIMITED
WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

MCMXXIV

Ser. 9
v. 1
1924, 1

Made and Printed in Great Britain.
Butler & Tanner Ltd., *Frome and London*

CURRENT ISSUES.

It is fifty years since the Expositor began. Till 1887 it was edited by Dr. Samuel Cox, who was probably the greatest expositor of his day. He not only edited the journal, but contributed largely to it. His expositions of the book of Ruth and of the book of Job, for example, appeared first of all in these pages. Since 1887 it has been edited by Sir William Robertson Nicoll, who was in charge of it when he died last year. Sir William wrote very little for it; he was content to secure contributors, and many of the leading scholars of the country rallied to his support, as well as some distinguished Continental and American writers. It was intended from the very first that the magazine should present "the best thoughts of the best men on the best of books," and that it should possess a permanent value. One effect of this policy has been that a number of works have appeared originally, in whole or in large part, within the Expositor. It has given birth in this way to books like Dr. E. H. Plumptre's *The Seven Churches of Asia*, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn's *Studies in the Life of Christ*, Professor Bruce's *The Epistle to the Hebrews* and *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Dr. Alexander Maclaren's exposition of Colossians, Bishop Westcott's *Christus Consummator*, Sir G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, and Dr. Garvie's *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*. Even apart from this the bound volumes include contributions from most of the leading British scholars during the past half-century. The result has been to justify the hope entertained by the publishers at its commencement that the magazine would "live as a book long after its work as a periodical has come to an end." In almost every volume there are articles which have never been reprinted, to which scholars and students have to turn back for information and direction.

* * * * *

It is needless to open up again the reasons which led to the

change of editorship in 1887. Most people know that Dr. Cox's views on what was known as "the larger hope" had begun to excite some suspicion and alarm. Dr. Cox was too honest an expositor to intrude his views into his interpretations of scripture. He was as scrupulous as Calvin himself on this point. But it was felt that his frank advocacy of such an opinion handicapped the magazine, and he himself, as he says in his farewell word, was "not surprised that as many as regard it as a baseless dream, or a dangerous delusion, should recognise its influence on my writings, and be offended by it." Since then the whole question of eschatology has been opened up and discussed without prejudice, at least in print; what Dr. Cox then startled the Christian public by propounding, or at any rate advocating—for he was only one of several agitators—is now debated without offence. It is rather significant of the changes which have passed over thought in this country that this problem can be handled frankly to-day, and that the aspect which seems to be most attractive in certain quarters is the idea of conditional immortality, if we may judge from a book like Dr. R. G. Macintyre's *The Other Side of Death*. The standard work on the whole subject is Dr. J. H. Leckie's *The World to Come, and Final Destiny*, where the ideas which men like Dr. Cox threw into the public mind are analysed, among others. Not that Dr. Leckie accepts them. But the point is that they can be quietly argued. Fifty years ago this was hardly possible. Dean Church did go to Oxford and preach one of his great, sober sermons in 1878. He tried to set the controversy in its true proportions, and the sermon, on Sin and Judgment (it is in the volume called *Human Life and Its Conditions*), remains one of the notable products of the dispute. But Dean Church was ahead of his age, and anticipated by years the wise reticence of Dr. Leckie. Besides, fifty years ago, the exegesis of the New Testament was not sufficiently strong to allow an adequate handling of the problem. Much work had yet to be done before the relevant passages could be weighed and arranged in anything like a satisfactory manner.

* * * * *

This reminds us of the other reason why Dr. Cox ceased to edit the EXPOSITOR. He was suspected of favouring unduly the critical views of the Bible which were associated with the name

of Robertson Smith. Well, the controversy over inspiration came and went. The publication of the Revised Version aided the education of the Christian public. So did the issues raised by the publication of *Lux Mundi* in 1899, which enabled Dr. Gore, for example, to say openly in 1890 that "for all the reality of its inspiration the Old Testament is on a lower level than the New," and that, in the use made by Jesus of the Old Testament books, "nothing depends on questions of authorship or date." These two sayings mark how the issue was broadening, and a free ground being won in this country for reverent and scientific interpretation of the Bible.

* * * * *

Every age has its own issues. Ideas about future punishment and inspiration do not occupy the mind to-day as they did fifty years ago. They have still their interest. But the interest is excited in other ways, and it is less exciting. No doubt this may be due to lower as well as to higher causes. Apathy sometimes means that people are not taking the trouble to think at all, or that, if they are thinking, it is in a confused fashion, which is not disposed to think things out. On the other hand, when interest wanes in any particular doctrine, it is the effect often of an imperceptible alteration of focus. So far as the question of inspiration goes, the latter cause has been at work especially. The results, or at any rate the methods, of psychology, of historical criticism, of textual research, and of comparative religion, have insensibly affected the mind to-day, till most Christian readers of the Bible practically believe in its inspiration because, as Coleridge said, it "finds" them. It is only those committed to the heresy of verbal inspiration who come to the Bible with a cut-and-dry theory of its origin and claims. And, for the time being, the crucial question is the reality and meaning of what Jesus was and did and taught.

* * * * *

A recent illustration of this may be given from Dr. William Adams Brown's striking volume on *Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy* (Hodder and Stoughton). He tells how a theological lecturer once asked his class whether the unique value attached by Christians to their Bible was not the outcome of local associations. Suppose they had been born in Japan or India, say, would they not have learnt to feel the same

about the local sacred books ? A young Japanese student made this reply. He said, " The case described was my own. I was converted to Christianity by reading a copy of the Bible. I knew nothing of Christ but what I found in this book, but when I read the Gospels they spoke directly to my soul, and I said to myself, ' This is God's word to me.' I had no difficulty with the Christianity of the Bible. It was only after I met Christians that my troubles began." The last sentence is a reproach, the reproach of modern Christianity. There is something radically wrong when a man's difficulties begin not with the Bible but with the Church, when he finds that the Bible is living and that the Church is not living up to the Bible. But the other point is equally important. As Dr. Adams Brown argues, this is the real test of life. Does the religion of the Gospels find us ? If so, then they are inspired. And " we shall persuade men that Jesus is God's supreme Word to men, not by insisting that they shall accept our definitions about Him, however important and satisfying they may seem to us "—nor, we may add, by insisting that they first accept any theory of ours about the Gospels as literature—" but by introducing them to Him, and letting Him speak to them in their own language, as He has spoken to us in ours." It ought to be the central aim, in the pulpit and in the study alike, to render this access to Jesus easier. For not all can find Him so naïvely as this young Japanese ; and even those who have found Him require to have His message interpreted and applied.

* * * * *

In 1875 Dr. Cox wrote in the Expositor that he " could not mention more than one commentary on any of the gospels," that is, one reliable commentary, and that on one Gospel he did not know of a single adequate edition in English. This defect has been made up, though work still remains to be done in the way of editing some of the Gospels for certain classes. But one real service which Dr. Cox used to render was to print advice about books. And this I propose to continue. Thus, there will be a series of articles by expert scholars on " The Best Ten Books " in various departments. One of these will appear monthly, giving an account of the literature with a critical appreciation. This ought to serve as a guide for busy clergymen and students. And for such it is one function of the Expositor

to cater. Whatever be the changes that have passed over the subject of exposition, this magazine still remains true to the original aim; it will "seek," as the prospectus said, "to furnish all who teach and preach the Word, not with complete and finished sermons indeed, but with the stuff out of which sermons are made." Which includes material for the private study of those who have to make the sermons.

* * * * *

The EXPOSITOR also is intended for research. These two aims are cognate. To study without a certain sense of the bearings of biblical study upon the Church is to fail. One source of weakness in some quarters of the Church to-day is the separation of research from the work of the ministry, just as the effectiveness of the ministry depends upon the constant personal study of the Bible. It would be a pity if investigations into the meaning of the Bible ever became the isolated preserve of a few. They sometimes are technical, and have to be conducted without regard to their practical value, just as is the case in the science of medicine. But ultimately their bearings on the work of the Church emerge. And in the EXPOSITOR there will still be an effort to further the interests of exegesis by detailed studies of the text and history. Thus, Mr. W. W. Cannon will contribute a series of fresh papers on the prophet Hosea. Those who know his work on the sixty-eighth Psalm and the Song of Solomon will understand how much he is likely to contribute towards a new vision of the meaning of the Old Testament text. Articles of this kind on the New, as well as on the Old Testament, will continue to be a feature of the magazine.

* * * * *

There are only two other words which I wish to say at this point. One is that the EXPOSITOR will be—and again I quote from the original prospectus—"informed by no narrow and sectarian spirit. Its tone will be broad, generous, catholic." Mark Pattison once wrote that "the most of Englishmen in theology have no other standard of merit than the prejudices of sect." This is Mark Pattison embittered rather than Mark Pattison critical, although there was perhaps a certain justification for his remarks, some decades ago. To-day one is glad to think that such an opinion would not be applicable to our age. Certainly it will not apply to this magazine.

The other word is this, that I propose to re-introduce the practice of reviewing current literature. Sometimes the reviews will be signed. But whether the notices are short or long, signed or unsigned, they will be intended to keep the reader abreast of what is being done in this country and abroad, both in books and in magazines. This is a feature which, I hope, will be welcome. And it will be meant for those interested in both functions of the magazine, research and exegesis, for the work of the study proper and also for work which is directly intended to equip the pulpit.

THE BEST TEN BOOKS ON THE PSALMS.

WHATEVER may be said about other parts of the Old Testament, the task of selecting a limited number of volumes as a help to the understanding and interpretation of the Psalms is an extraordinarily difficult one. Not even the Book of Isaiah has provoked a larger literature ; the student who glances through the catalogue of some great library is bewildered by the number and variety of works which deal with the Psalter from one point of view or another. There are patristic commentaries, commentaries dating from the Reformation period, and commentaries of a more modern type. But actual works of exegesis only cover a small part of the field. There are works dealing with only a limited number of Psalms or with a small section of the book, discussions of introduction, dating, and of smaller points of detail, such as the " titles " and even the accentuation of the Hebrew text, to say nothing of other sides of the study of the subject.

The truth is that the Psalms have a wider interest and a deeper appeal than any other part of the Old Testament. They offer an expression of spiritual experience of many kinds, and it is difficult to think of a condition of mind and soul for which and to which some Psalm or other does

not speak. Readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will remember how the escaping slave, George Harris, taking shelter in an old-fashioned Friend's house, burst out into a bitter complaint of slavery and all that it involved. His host replied by reading Psalm lxxiii., and as he reached the climax of the poet's distress looked up and asked, "Does thee feel like that, George?" George did, and it is because most of us can say that we "feel like that" at some point or other in the book that it has become the most popular of all Old Testament writings.

Another feature of the Psalter is that it is largely self-explanatory. This means that it is fairly intelligible without a commentary of any kind. Whilst in some parts of the Old Testament, particularly in the Prophets and in Job, a mere translation (unless it be a very free one) frequently fails to convey the sense of a message to the reader's mind, very few of us have difficulties in appreciating, say, Psalm xxiii. Of course an adequate exposition by a competent scholar will often serve to bring out points that have been missed or to develop pictures that lie hidden in the Hebrew words, but even apart from this fuller illumination most of the language is sufficiently lucid to touch the imagination and reach the heart. Most of us can read the Psalms with pleasure and profit without a commentary, and when we do turn to one, it is often to be disappointed. For one of the most important services that any commentary can render is to give us the background and the setting of the text. It may safely be said that such writers as Amos are comparatively unintelligible until they are seen in the light of their own period, and many of the difficulties that men find in the historical books disappear or are alleviated when their age and situation are fully taken into account. But in the case of the Psalms practically all that we know of their background is derived from the text itself. This is,

perhaps, the only point in which the newer school of Bible students has less of spiritual value to offer us than the older type. When we believed that a large proportion of the Psalter was the work of David there was a real personal interest involved in its language; now that we have to admit that we cannot be certain as to the identity of a single Psalm writer and that the majority of them are probably to be dated in one of the most obscure periods of Israel's history—the three centuries that immediately followed the Return—that personal appeal is to some extent weakened, and the more striking individualities of the Prophets find a more ready response.

Nevertheless the student of the Psalms, especially if his work lie in public exegesis, may find much that is helpful in the writings of others, though it would be a profound mistake to suppose that such aids can ever take the place of personal study and appreciation. It is not of much use for any man to try to explain the inner spiritual meaning of a Psalm until it has entered into his own experience, and taken its place in his life. At the same time there is much that others have done that will help him to be sure of the more external meaning of its words and phrases.

It goes without saying that a competent expositor of the Psalms must be able to read them in Hebrew and must find their meaning for himself from the original text. Yet even so he cannot afford to dispense with translations. And translations of the Psalms in English abound. There is the Prayer Book version, based on the Vulgate, which has to ears more accustomed to the version of 1611 a certain quaintness of its own in parts. The Authorised Version of the Psalms is one of the most magnificent parts of that Bible, and for dignity and power has never been surpassed and probably never will be. The Revised Version is in some ways an improvement, but is probably more often

less satisfactory when it differs from the Authorised. In the New Testament the Revisers had the advantage of a far sounder Greek text than their predecessors, but in the Old Testament both versions were made from the same, or practically the same, Hebrew authority, the Massoretic text. In the case of the Psalms the arrangement in lines to show the structure of the poetry has been a very great improvement, but where actual changes have been made in the translation they have not infrequently lost the literary beauty of the earlier version without adequate compensation in superior accuracy.

There are also metrical versions of various kinds, of which the most famous and best loved in the English language is certainly the Scottish version. As a rule such versions have not been particularly successful, though there are one or two outstanding instances of renderings of individual Psalms which have taken a permanent place in English literature. Such are Milton's familiar presentation of Psalm cxxxvi. and Baker's hymn, "The King of Love my Shepherd is." But, apart from the Scottish Psalms, and one or two other early efforts such as those of Sternhold and Hopkins and Tate and Brady, we still lack a complete translation of the Psalter into English poetic form.

There are several features for which the student will look in a modern version of the Psalms. It is now generally recognised that the Hebrew text has suffered in greater or less degree in course of transmission, and whilst certainty is beyond hope in some cases, there are numbers of passages where the original text may be restored with comparative safety with the help of the ancient versions. A good instance occurs in Psalm xix. 4, where the Massoretic text has "Their line (קום) is gone out," whilst the LXX and Vulgate render "Their sound is gone out," evidently

reading קולם, which is surely right. It is interesting to note that in this instance the Prayer Book version is more accurate than either the Authorised or the Revised, which followed closely the Massoretic text.

A second demand in such a translation will be that the language should be dignified and in some measure poetical. Briggs's phrase, "O hear my *yell*" will appeal to many readers of the Psalter as intolerable. In this respect the Authorised Version is still unmatched, though it suffers from one or two serious weaknesses in the matter of text.

A third desideratum is that the translation should be so arranged as to show the poetic structure of the Hebrew. To some extent this is a modern discovery, and the last word has yet to be said on the forms of Hebrew poetry. But at least the balancing lines can be exhibited, as is done in the Revised Version—though inadequately, inasmuch as the Massoretic divisions within the verses do not always correspond to the real divisions in sense and rhythm. If possible, it would be further desirable to have renderings which should in each line bear the same number of strongly stressed syllables as the Hebrew text, though there may be many places where this cannot be satisfactorily done, owing to the fact that it is sometimes impossible to find a single word which will correspond in meaning to a given Hebrew word. Nevertheless it is remarkable how successful some modern translators have been in keeping the rhythm of the original in a large majority of the lines of the Psalter without surrendering the sense.

Apart from translations which are found in Commentaries, some of which are simply the text of the Authorised Version or Revised Version, whilst others display more originality, there are two which stand out in English. One of these is the splendid translation of Professor J. E. McFadyen. Few men have done more in our day to make generally available

the best results of modern scholarship. In all his work the reader finds the activity of a consecrated and devout mind. To him scholarship is never an end in itself, and he places it on no pinnacle beyond the reach of ordinary folk. Its purpose is to enable men to understand the divine message in Scripture, and no living scholar more consistently employs it for that end. His translations are an admirable instance of his attitude, and show that he possesses the very rare but very necessary qualifications for that difficult task. They include the Book of Job and several of the prophetic books as well as the Psalms ; all are marked by the same characteristics.

An actual illustration will serve better than any attempt merely to describe the quality of Dr. McFadyen's translation. The opening verses of Psalm xxvii. run :—

> The Lord is my light and my saviour ;
> Whom then shall I fear ?
> The Lord protecteth my life ;
> Whom then shall I dread ?
>
> When the wicked drew nigh to assail me
> And eat up my flesh,
> It was those that distressed and opposed me
> Who stumbled and fell.

Or these verses from Psalm xxix. :—

> 1. Ascribe to Jehovah, ye Beings celestial,
> Ascribe to Jehovah glory and power.
> 2. Ascribe to Jehovah the glory he manifests.
> Bow to Jehovah in holy array.
> . . . . . .
> 7. Jehovah's voice cleaves flames of fire,
> 8. Jehovah's voice rendeth the desert,
> He rendeth the desert of Kadesh.
>
> 9. Jehovah's voice whirleth the oaks,
> And strippeth the forests bare ;
> And all in His temple say " Glory."

Critically here is just that combination of freedom and

caution which is most to be desired. Dr. McFadyen has not been afraid to give to the opening words of Psalm xxix. their true meaning, disguised in the Authorised Version under the rendering, "Ye mighty," and the Revised Version as "Ye sons of the mighty." And in the first line of verse 9 he has adopted an emendation which is fairly widely accepted. Yet there is none of that extensive surgery of the text which (to the minds of many) mars some of the best work that scholarship has done on the Psalter. Dr. McFadyen employs a critical text, freely yet cautiously emended.

The dignity of the English employed in these renderings, selected haphazard, is sufficiently obvious to every reader. Even the most captious will hardly object to such a translation on this account, taking it as a whole. There may be those to whom the older versions have been endeared by long familiarity and tender associations who will not see why Dr. McFadyen has "felt it necessary to diverge so widely from the Authorised Version," but such a criticism entirely misses the point. A modern translator has to do his work, if it is to be really successful, trying to forget existing renderings, except in so far as they may help him to see what meaning has from time to time been placed on the actual words of the Hebrew text.

Finally Dr. McFadyen has been extraordinarily successful in reproducing the Hebrew rhythm. It is impossible to miss the swing of his lines, but it should be noted that this is not merely a movement of his own, but one which is to be found also in the original. The greatness of this achievement is not perhaps fully realised till it is understood that whereas in English the rhythms tend more or less to be either trochaic or dactylic, proceeding from the stress to the non-stress, it is of the essence of Hebrew that it possesses nearly always a rising rhythm, with the strong accents

usually at the end of a word. For instance, the first two verses of Psalm xxix. in Hebrew run :—

habú l^{e}yahwéh b^{e}né elím
habú l^{e}yahwéh kabód wa'óz
habú l^{e}yahwéh k^{e}bód sh^{e}mó
hishtah^{a}wú l^{e}yahwéh b^{e}had^{e}ráth ḳódesh.

A comparison with the rendering given above will show that, except for the fact that the number of unstressed syllables between the stresses is not always the same, the rhythm is practically identical in both text and translation. Allowing for the necessary differences between the two languages, it is difficult to imagine a more successful representation, not only of the sense of the Hebrew, but also of its characteristic music.

Another translation which should by no means be missed is that of Canon Driver in his *Parallel Psalter*, which contains the Prayer Book version and an original one on opposite pages, so that the reader has the opportunity of comparing the two. It can hardly be claimed that this version has the same æsthetic value as Dr. McFadyen's, though there may be readers who will prefer it. It frequently varies widely from that which accompanies it, though there are a number of instances in which it closely follows the Authorised Version. Quite typical are the opening verses of Psalm xxvii. :—

Jehovah is my light and my salvation ; whom shall I fear ?
Jehovah is the stronghold of my life ; of whom shall I be afraid ?
When evil-doers came against me to eat up my flesh,
Mine adversaries and mine enemies, even mine, *they* stumbled and fell.

Dr. Driver did not recognise the existence of Hebrew rhythm except to a limited extent, but his renderings are those of an exact scholar, and his work is most valuable as a guide to the precise significance of the Hebrew original.

Further, whilst conservative in temperament he is prepared to admit a limited amount of textual emendation.

Every translation is of necessity to some extent an exposition, for the translator is constantly having to decide which English word will cover most of the meaning which he sees in the Hebrew. Words in different languages over-lap but very seldom coincide, and probably no two men will ever fully agree as to the exact content of all the words in a given language. This and other reasons make it imperative that a professed expositor of Scripture should be able to rely, not only on adequate translations but also on commentaries of various types.

In this type of literature the Psalter is particularly rich. Yet, for reasons already adumbrated, it is exceedingly difficult to find any one or any group which will be wholly satisfactory. Further, expositors differ widely among themselves as to the type of commentary which they are able to appreciate and profitably employ. It is a matter of constant surprise to students and teachers of other forms of literature that it is even held to be possible that an expositor of the Old Testament—and, indeed, sometimes of the New Testament also—should not be sufficiently familiar with the original language of his special subject as to dispense, in case of need, with translations. Yet it is a lamentable fact that a proportion, perhaps a large proportion, of those whose official task is to expound Scripture think of their subject from the point of view of translations only. Any selected list, therefore, of commentaries on the Psalms must be so framed as to include not only such volumes as appeal to a learned audience but a sufficient number of a type primarily designed for teachers and classes in Sunday and Day Schools.

Possibly also one German Commentary should be selected. Continental scholarship (which is mainly German) has

done during the last century work on the Psalms whose value it is impossible to over-estimate. An older generation found the expositions of Hengstenberg particularly valuable to a certain type of mind. His work is expansive, and, as might be expected of the founder of the modern fundamentalist view of inspiration, rigidly conservative, but he had a thorough knowledge of Hebrew and is at times even now suggestive. To the same general period belongs the work of Ewald and Hitzig. The former, though slight in extent, being usually a summary of each Psalm with a translation and a few notes on the text, has a high value for all his successors, whilst the latter is marked by an erratic brilliance which makes him more interesting than reliable. Such works as the commentaries of Delitzsch and Hupfeld-Nowack, whilst sound and scholarly, have little to offer the modern reader inasmuch as all that is of the highest quality in them will be found in the work of later writers. Of these three claim special attention. At his best Bernard Duhm of Basel is one of the most inspiring writers who have ever handled the Old Testament. Some of his readers will feel that it is worth while learning German in order to read his Commentary on Job—even while there are points on which he is not always followed. His Commentary on Isaiah marks the beginning of a new period in the study of that book, and, in spite of his drastic criticism, no continental scholar has won his way more deeply into the inner secrets of the heart of Jeremiah than he. Unfortunately his Commentary on the Psalms is not on the same level as his other exegetical work. He is obsessed by the conditions of the second century B.C. in Israel, and wherever he finds such words as " righteous " and " wicked " —common enough in the Psalter—assumes them to be technical terms of the sectarian quarrels of that unhappy but critical period. Further, the lack of a single personality,

or of a small group of persons, whom he may expound with that marvellous capacity for sympathy which he possesses, seems to have militated against the success of his work on the Psalms. A reader gathers the impression —probably unfairly –that he was not greatly interested in the Book, and only wrote on it because the editor of the series in which it appeared assigned it to him.

This can hardly be said of Baethgen, the third edition of whose Commentary on the Psalms seems to be out of print. Like other volumes in the same series (Göttinger Handkommentar) it contains a translation, with notes at the foot of the page. Whilst noting the rhythms and commenting on irregularities, Baethgen makes very few emendations *metri gratia*, and, indeed, his whole work is marked by sober criticism. Where he sees reasons for rejecting lines as later insertions he is not afraid to act on his judgment, but such cases are on the whole rare with him in comparison with some other writers. His comments on the text are not merely historical and critical, but of real value from the spiritual point of view also.

For practical purposes it is difficult to choose between the work of Baethgen and that of Kittel, whose first edition appeared in 1914. The Commentary contains a translation of each Psalm, followed by textual notes and a short exegetical account. Kittel has avoided verse-by-verse exposition, and the general effect is not unlike that produced by Ewald's work. His criticism is modern but sober, and while he takes the metrical structure of the Psalms fully into account, he makes little use of the metre in emendation, though he believes that some Psalms have undergone considerable alterations. The exegesis is clear and very suggestive, and though it is condensed, it yet gives the real essence of the message of each Psalm. This is one of the most valuable of modern commentaries.

Turning to commentaries published in English, we find that the mass of work published on the Psalms is very great. Apart from such partial studies as Sir G. A. Smith's exquisite little volume, *Four Psalms*, there is a large number of useful exegetical volumes. Some of these will make a special appeal to students who are familiar with Hebrew, and, indeed, in one or two cases it is difficult if not impossible to use the books profitably without a knowledge of the original language. Of these the most prominent is, of course, the *International Critical Commentary* by C. A. Briggs. Few volumes in that, the most ambitious series of Commentaries extant, have been more severely criticised than these two, and they are certainly marked by very grave faults. The translation of the Hebrew text is frequently far from satisfactory, not because it fails to represent the Hebrew, but because its language is inelegant. A single illustration will suffice, from Psalm xxix. 8, 9, already cited in McFadyen's version :—

> The voice of Yahweh whirleth the wilderness about,
> Yahweh whirleth about the wilderness of Kadesh.
> The voice of Yahweh whirleth about the (terebinths),
> (The voice of Yahweh) strippeth bare the forests.

The words in brackets represent textual emendations, and it will be seen that as far as the first is concerned Briggs agrees with McFadyen. The second brings up at once the second and worst weakness of the work of Briggs. The words are conjecturally inserted in order to fit in with the metrical scheme which, he believes, he has found in the Psalm. It may quite well be that in this particular instance Briggs will be followed and supported by the opinion of other scholars, but this is far from being the case with a large part of his work in this direction. In particular he divides each Psalm into equal stanzas, and where he is unable to bring the count right excises enough lines to reduce the

Psalm to a symmetrical number. The same Psalm will serve as an illustration. Briggs counts twenty-two lines in the Hebrew text, or possibly twenty-three. Neither makes the right figure, for he has reason to believe (and if the "strophic" structure of the Psalm be admitted the reason is fairly sound) that it is arranged in four-line "strophes" or stanzas. Something must be dropped, and he decides that he can best spare from the poem the words "The God of Glory has thundered" (so McFadyen) from verse 3, "Jehovah's voice cleaves flames of fire" from verse 7, and "And all in His temple say 'Glory'" from verse 9. The second is a particularly bad case, for there can be few phrases in all poetry which more finely describe the lightning, and the strophic theory seems to be the principal reason for regarding the line as a later addition.

On the other hand it is impossible to deny the really fine scholarship of Dr. Briggs, or the saneness and moderation of his higher criticism. The philological notes on each Psalm are a mass of useful information gathered from many sources, and he not infrequently cites every occurrence of a word under discussion. In his dating of the Psalms, whilst in details there is bound to be a good deal of disagreement with his conclusions, he avoids the extreme views advocated by Duhm and perhaps others. Only eight Psalms are assigned to the Maccabean period, and he regards nearly thirty as pre-exilic. The Introduction is extensive and thorough, treating of the subject from almost every possible point of view. In short, in spite of its weaknesses and possibly errors, Briggs's is a work with which no one can dispense if he desires to be thoroughly well equipped for the interpretation of the Psalms.

Another Commentary which will appeal to the same type of expositor is Cheyne's first edition (1888). It is a pity that this has been superseded from the publisher's point of

view by the second edition, for, though at times interesting, the latter is practically valueless. It belongs to the author's later period, when, under the influence of the Musri-Jerachmeel theory he so remodelled the text as to leave hardly one word upon another of the Massoretic tradition which had not been changed; it is probably the most extravagant study of any Biblical book that has ever issued from the pen of a real scholar. For Cheyne was a real scholar, and his earlier work can never be safely neglected. The first edition of his Commentary on the Psalms is difficult to procure, but it is to be hoped that the publishers will some day see their way to reprint it. It is, no doubt, available for most students if they are within reach of a good public library.

Earlier than either Briggs or Cheyne is the work of Perowne, first published in 1864. It is, of course, in many respects less striking than any later work, though for its time it made an incalculable advance on anything earlier in English. Perowne was himself a fine scholar and had at his disposal the best that both Jewish and Christian scholars could afford up to his time. The Commentary is accompanied by a new translation, which shows that the author was not tied to traditional renderings. He places, however, far too high a value on the Massoretic text, and seldom diverges from the traditional punctuation, to say nothing of the consonantal text, even when the support of the LXX or other versions is manifestly given on the side of some other reading than that of the MT. Apart from parallelism the character of Hebrew poetic rhythm was not recognised, and both translation and commentary suffer in comparison with the work of later scholars. Nevertheless Perowne is well worth a thorough study. His philological notes are extremely sound, and tempt the reader to feel that in not a few cases where to-day we should emend the

text, our failure to appreciate the MT is due to the fact that we have not tried hard enough to investigate the niceties of Hebrew grammar. If we knew Hebrew better we might emend less. And the notes on the text are generally sound, being based on a wide knowledge alike of the text and of earlier work on the subject. Above all they are written from a strongly devotional point of view, and this means that the book presents us not merely with the opinions of a scholar but also with the meditations of a deeply religious thinker. Even since his time we have hardly had a commentary which so satisfactorily meets alike the demands of the student and the need of the spirit.

The last three commentaries mentioned are addressed to the student who reads Hebrew. A much larger number might be quoted which are intended to serve those who are ignorant of the original of the Psalms. Such work as that of Spurgeon's *Treasury of David* will always have a value for a certain type of mind, though it may not be generally helpful. Another, older work of the same kind is that of Barnes. But there are more modern commentaries which deserve closer attention than their predecessors. The volumes in the Century Bible are not amongst the best in that series; the first, by Dr. Davison, being undistinguished, and the second by Professor Witton Davies concentrating too much on strict scholarship and showing little original thinking.

A great contrast is presented by Dr. Maclaren's volumes in the Expositor's Bible, which, except for the work of Sir G. A. Smith, offer the best work on the Old Testament that the series contains. There is, indeed, a good deal in common between the two writers. Though Maclaren never held a teaching post, but remained to the end of his days the pastor of a Church in Manchester, he was recognised

as a fine Hebrew scholar—one of the best of his generation. In criticism he tended to be conservative, but this tendency did not hold him to a rigid acceptance of traditional views, and he was prepared on occasion to accept textual emendation. Nor was he in any sense bound to the acceptance of the titles as necessarily indicating authorship, though he required strong reasons for abandoning the conventional position. Each Psalm is freshly translated, and often his genius for language enables the reader to feel the Hebrew rhythm beneath the English to a degree which is quite impossible with such versions as those of Briggs.

But his great power lay in his presentation of the meaning of the text. Maclaren was a prince of pulpit expositors, and it was just such a series as the Expositor's Bible that offered him the best possible opportunity for the exercise of his gifts. No other writer in English, except Sir G. A. Smith, has approached him in his power of making the text live, of drawing from it the picture which presented itself to the mind of the Hebrew poet, and of applying the lessons of that picture to the immediate needs of those for whom he spoke and wrote. For the work of practical exegesis there is no book in the whole range of English literature on the Psalter which can be compared with this.

The third modern work which should be mentioned is again very different in character. This is Dr. Kirkpatrick's volume in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. The Dean of Ely displays throughout a cautious appreciation of the critical work of his predecessors, and seldom commits himself to a definite date for any particular Psalm. His work is characterised rather by a full knowledge and a judicious use of earlier commentaries and studies than by an original contribution to the subject, but for that very reason—especially as his discussions are often fairly full—may be the more valuable to many expositors. Perhaps

the most attractive feature of the book is the writer's fine devotional tone.

In addition to translations and commentaries, many expositors will welcome volumes of a more general type or studies in portions of the Book, and a word or two on this head may not be out of place. Selection here is more difficult than anywhere else, for the number of useful books is very large. Perhaps the most brilliant of all is Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, but there is, unfortunately, no English translation. Among volumes which are available for the reader who knows only English one which should certainly not be missed is Dr. W. G. Jordan's *Religion in Song*, which appeared in the "Humanism of the Bible" series. This is one of the best books about the Psalter which have ever been written. Its main weakness is one to which the author is himself keenly alive; it is somewhat lacking in a consistently developed plan. Some of the chapters deal with the wider questions of the study of Hebrew poetry, others are concerned with groups of Psalms. Other parts of the book again treat of the light the Psalter as a whole or particular portions of it throw on theology, history, or the social relations of men and their religious implications, while a few Psalms are considered and expounded in detail. The exposition is sound and illuminating, the application clear and pointed, and the Christian devotional spirit of the writer is apparent throughout. Another book which cannot be neglected by any man who seriously gives himself to the exposition of Scripture.

It is necessary to leave on one side a multitude of good books, such as McFadyen's *Messages of the Psalmists*, A. R. Gordon's *Poets of the Old Testament* and others, and pass on to two which will be found valuable from the human interest they exhibit and the illustrations they afford of

the spiritual value of the Psalter in the past. The first of these is Prothero's well-known volume, *The Psalms in Human Life*. This is a historical survey of Christian experience, in which the writer shows how from time to time men have found peace, comfort and inspiration in the words of the Psalmists. It illustrates the general truth that there is practically no form of spiritual experience which does not find its echo in the Psalter, and no condition of the human soul to which that Book cannot in one part or another minister. It is one of the most familiar of modern books on the subject, and should need neither description nor commendation.

Other books of the same type have appeared, amongst them Dr. Ker's *Psalms in History and Biography*. One, however, will have a special appeal to members of the Anglican Church, and may be especially mentioned on that ground. This is *The Psalms at Work* by C. L. Marson. It takes each Psalm separately, and, before giving the kind of history of its use in private life that is to be found in Prothero, indicates its special use and appropriateness in the services of the English Church. Obviously, for expositors who are associated with that Church, it has a very high value, and might almost be used as a substitute for the better known work last mentioned. In any case it is a book which is well worth the study and attention of the practical exegete.

Whilst recognising, then, that a choice of ten books on the Psalms must be largely influenced by personal and subjective considerations, the following may be given as a list of wide general utility :—

A. Translations :

1. McFadyen.
2. Driver.

B. Commentaries:

3. Baethgen or Kittel.
4. Briggs.
5. Perowne.
6. Maclaren.
7. Kirkpatrick.

C. General:

8. Jordan. *Religion in Song.*
9. Prothero. *The Psalms in Human Life.*
10. Marson. *The Psalms at Work.*

At least he who possesses and uses all these is well equipped for the task of expounding the Psalter.

T. H. Robinson.

THE TEXT OF HOSEA.

A striking feature of modern commentaries on Old Testament books is a growing tendency to strike out large portions of the traditional text as "interpolations of editors." Sometimes reasons are alleged for these excisions—sometimes they are assumed to be self-evident. But whether reasons are alleged or not, such excisions really rest almost entirely on the subjectivity of the individual editor. No variant reading, no ancient version supplies any basis for them. Their only support is the hypothesis of the editor that his author did not, or ought not, or was not likely to include such passages in his work. It is an inevitable consequence of this purely hypothetical method that the conclusions of one editor will often fail to be accepted by another. Passages which are regarded by one critic as foreign to the author's line of thought will be considered by another as strictly in harmony with it. As no guidance is to be obtained from external evidence there will be

found in fact, what might be predicted in advance, that very seldom will two critics entirely agree as to what is genuine and what is spurious. The present writer has in previous works had occasion to discuss at some length this tendency of modern criticism.[1] He now proposes to examine it thoroughly in relation to the text of *Hosea*, as to which book the divergence of critical opinion as to supposed interpolations by editors has been very marked.

This discussion is quite outside the ordinary textual criticism of the book, based upon evidence or resting upon occasional conjecture, in which field much excellent work has been done and a large measure of critical agreement has been arrived at,[2] although perhaps in some passages conjectures may have been suggested which are hardly necessary.[3] Our purpose is entirely different. It is to consider those portions of the text which have been pronounced spurious by various editors without any evidence at all, on grounds which may be based on critical insight or may be the result of hypothesis, of fancy, or of caprice.

These supposed interpolations may be grouped into three classes.

A. Allusions by this prophet of Israel to the kingdom of Judah.

B. Passages expressing hopes of the future forgiveness and restoration of Israel.

C. Other passages of various kinds.

To these in their order :

A. The passages in Hosea referring to the kingdom

[1] Cannon, *Song of Songs* (Camb., 1913). Exc. II. Cannon, 68*th Psalm* (Camb 1922), App. I.

[2] See Harper, *Structure of the Text of Hosea*, 1905. W. Nowack, "Hosea," in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*.

[3] "Im allgemeinen geht der heutige Textkritik allzusehr darauf aus den ungefügen Stil Hosea's zu applanieren" (v. Orelli, *Komm.* p. 5.)

of Judah are: i. 7; ii. 1–3; iii. 5; iv. 15; v. 5, 10, 12, 13, 14; vi. 4, 11; viii. 14; x. 11; xii. 1–3.

We think Stade[1] was the first to suggest that i. 7, ii. 1–3, part of iii. 5, iv. 15, viii. 14, were to be struck out of the text as not being original. Later writers went further. Marti[2] and Steuernagel[3] roundly assert that all references to Judah are "secondary," that is, are later additions to the original text. Nowack[4] and Valeton[5] are practically, if not formally, of the same opinion. Other critics, as Cornill,[6] Wellhausen,[7] Duhm[8] and Harper[9] reject some passages and accept others; and by no means the same ones. Thus iv. 15 is rejected by Cornill, Duhm and Wellhausen and accepted by Harper; v. 5 is apparently accepted by all four; vi. 11 is accepted by Cornill, Duhm and Wellhausen and rejected by Harper; viii. 14 is accepted by Cornill and rejected by Duhm, Wellhausen and Harper. Wellhausen remarks[7] that he once declared that all allusions to Judah in Amos and Hosea were suspicious, but that he no longer cherishes this suspicion in its generality. These differences of opinion are sufficient to show that there is not on this subject such an unanimity of critical opinion as precludes further examination of the question. Indeed several critics, including Kuenen,[10] König,[11] and v. Hoonacker,[12] accept these passages as genuine with some slight reservation, in one or two cases, as to their

[1] *Gesch.* 1887, I. 577 n. 1.
[2] *Dodekapropheten*, 1904, p. 7.
[3] *Lehrbuch*, 1912, p. 608.
[4] *Die Kleinen Propheten*, 2nd Ed., 1903, p. 3.
[5] *Amos u. Hosea*, 1898, p. 53 f.
[6] *Einleit.*, 4th ed., 1896, p. 179.
[7] "Die Kleinen Propheten" (*Skizzen*, Heft 5), 1898, p. 99.
[8] *Die Zwölf Propheten*, 1910.
[9] "Int. Crit. Comm.," *Amos and Hosea*, 1905, p. clix.
[10] *Einleit.*, 1892, p. 318.
[11] *Einleit.*, 1893, p. 308.
[12] *Les douze petites prophètes*, 1903, p. 9.

being out of place, and v. Orelli[1] has little or no doubt of their originality. The general grounds on which these passages are condemned are also very diverse. Many critics condemn them because they think them to be outside Hosea's range of thought, or because they appear to break the connexion of his discourses. Nowack sees evidence of deliberate editing. Sayce[2] also thinks there are signs of editing by Jewish scribes. Valeton regards most of these passages as marginal notes taken into the text by mistake of a copyist. Others give no reason for omitting them. All matters of this kind will be best discussed in connexion with the various passages, but before doing so we propose to offer some general considerations which may help us to form an opinion as to whether Hosea was likely to mention or to ignore Judah in his prophetic discourses.

1. In his historical allusions Hosea by no means confines himself to the history of the Ten Tribes. He dwells with loving interest on the life-story of Jacob-Israel the father of all the tribes, and on the history of the whole nation, and he uses the Judean history book (J) almost entirely as his authority, only rarely referring to the North Israelite book (E). Thus in xi. 8 he takes from Genesis x. 19 (J)[3] the names of *Admah* and *Zeboiim*, cities of the Plain. In the history of *Jacob*, Hosea xii. 4, he uses almost verbally the language of J, Genesis xxv. 26 (note the words עקב · בטן) and Genesis xxxv. 22 (note שׂרה · יכל) only introducing one trait, "he wept and supplicated him," from some other unknown source. Similarly in Hosea xii. 12 he uses Genesis xxvii. 43 (J) (note ברח), xxix. 18–20 (E) (note עבד), xxx. 31 (J) (note שמר). In Hosea v. 1

[1] *Kurzgefass. Comm. Hosea*, p. 5.

[2] *Higher Criticism*, etc., p. 477.

[3] Gen. xiv. 2 is a special source of uncertain date. Driver, *Gen.*, p. 127.

Mizpeh seems to refer to Genesis xxxi. 47 (J). Hosea xi. 1 (see xii. 13) with much feeling recalls the bringing up of Israel "my son" from Egypt. He seems to quote here from Exodus iv. 22, 23 (J) (note the use of בני, bis). The allusion in Hosea ix. 10 to Baal-Peor rests on Numbers xxv. 1–5 (J), and if, as seems likely, the correct text [1] in Hosea v. 2 is "the pit of Shittim" there is here also a reference to Numbers xxv. 1 and Joshua iii. 1, both J, relating to the same period. In Hosea ii. 15 there is an allusion to the story of *Achan* taken from Joshua vii. 26 (J E) (note עמק עכור), and it is a story of a man of *Judah* (Joshua vii. 16) which on the principles of Marti and others Hosea could not have referred to. Not less curious is it to observe that all Hosea's references to the period of the Judges relate to either *Benjamin* or *Judah*, just those topics which on this hypothesis he was most likely to avoid. Hosea v. 8 has a direct quotation from the Song of Deborah,[2] Judges v. 14, "After thee, Benjamin." In Hosea ix. 9 and x. 9 we find reference to one of the most terrible events of the national history in which *Benjamin* was deeply involved, "the days of Gibeah" and "the battle in Gibeah against the children of iniquity." [3] The account of these transactions is found in Judges xix. 22–30, xx., and it is to be observed that in this story the lead in the battle is taken by *Judah*, Judges xx. 18 (note the word מלחמה). Wellhausen,[4] who considers the story in Judges xix.–xxi. a late composition, has suggested that it owes its origin to these passages in Hosea, and he and other critics main-

[1] Amending וְשֻׁחָטָה שִׁטִּים to וְשַׁחַת הַשִּׁטִּים, Harper, Nowack.

[2] The LXX. Hosea v. 8 reads ἐξέστη Βενιαμίν which leads to the proposed emendation הָהָרִיד ב׳ from Am. iii. 6 (Harper, Nowack). But we think the text preferable. Hosea must have known the Song, and there seems no reason why he should not have quoted it.

[3] Reading for לַה for עָלְוָה with Gr. ἀδικίας (Harper, Nowack).

[4] *Composition*, 3rd ed. p. 233.

tain that the prophet by the "days of Gibeah" really meant the fatal day when Israel decided to have a king. See Hosea xiii. 9, "Thou saidest, Give me a king and princes. I gave thee a king in mine anger." This is a most perverse theory.[1] The election of Saul did not take place at Gibeah but at Mizpeh (1 Sam. x. 17) or at Gilgal (1 Sam. xi. 15). No such occurrence could be meant by the words "the days of Gibeah" or spoken of as "a battle" there. The only rational explanation of the phenomena is that Hosea had read the story of Judges xix.–xxi. in substance as we have it now, and used this grim old narrative of crime and punishment to illustrate his solemn warnings to the men of his own day. Lastly, Hosea v. 8 refers to *Gibeah* and *Rama*, localities which belonged to *Benjamin*, or perhaps at this date to *Judah* (Isa. x. 29).

This survey of the allusions of Hosea to the ancient history of Israel lends but little support to the view that his range of thought and interest was confined to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. An observer, reviewing the quotations collected above without regard to any theory, might with some truth remark that Judah and Benjamin held the principal place in his reflections on national history. Such a view would hardly be further from reality than the proposition that Hosea was so entirely absorbed by the sins and the dangers of the northern kingdom that he could not spare a thought for, or make a single allusion to, the situation or the prospects of the sister kingdom from whose past history he drew such impressive warnings.

2. Hosea was profoundly impressed by the crimes and tragedies which had marked the frequent changes of dynasty in Israel. The rebellions by which Baasha Zimri and Omri obtained the throne and the special horror of the

[1] "Hosea is not opposed to royalty in itself." Cheyne, Cam. Bible, *Hosea*, p. 123.

revolt of Jehu (Hos. i. 4) made him regard the whole kingship of the northern kingdom as illegitimate and unblest. "They have set up kings, but not by me. They have made princes, and I did not know [them]" (Hos. viii. 4). "I give thee a king in mine anger and take him away in my wrath" (Hos. xiii. 11). Such a monarchy could be of no real service to the afflicted country. "For now they shall say, We have no king because we feared not Jahveh, and the king [we have] what can he do for us?" (Hos. x. 3). In his own time the prophet had seen the growth of the conspiracy against Zechariah (Hos. vii. 4–7), his murder by Shallum and the murder of the latter by Menahem. "They ate up their judges, all their kings fell" (v. 7). And he had seen Menahem pay tribute to the Assyrian king (Pul) Tiglath Pileser [1] (2 Kings xv. 19), which the prophet knew would prove a vain remedy for the national evils (Hos. v. 13, viii. 9, xii. 1). It became plain to him that such royalty could not endure. "I will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel" (Hos. i. 4). "Samaria, her king is cut off like a chip on the face of the waters" (Hos. x. 7). "They must cease for a little time from anointing king and princes" (Hos. viii. 10).[2]

W. W. Cannon.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] See Driver, *Auth. and Arch.* 97–8.

[2] In this difficult passage the LXX reads *καὶ κοπάσουσι μικρὸν τοῦ χρίειν*, and Sym. *καὶ διαλείψουσι*, κ. .λ. The text is thus restored:

וְיַחְדְּלוּ מְעָט מִמְּשֹׁחַ מֶלֶךְ וְשָׂרִים

(Harper, Nowack).

THE PREACHER AND THE TWELVE.

It is through the eyes of the Twelve that we first see Jesus; if, more easily than Thomas, we are led to say "My Lord and my God," it is in part because we enjoy the privilege of watching the total effect of that great central figure upon the men who walked and talked with Him. It is very necessary, then, for the preacher to understand the Twelve; he must seek to enter as fully as possible into all their recorded experiences – especially their more striking experiences of the power of their Master. When, for instance, we read such great stories as the feeding of the five thousand, the walking on the waves, and the Transfiguration, we should never be content to extract, from these, a bare minimum of meaning; we should be eager to get at the very heart of such significant events. "All Christian theology must approve itself as an interpretation of the historic Christ, and also as satisfying the genuine spiritual instincts of the Christian life. And no theology meets the one requirement that does not also meet the other." [1]

The preacher of to-day inherits the task of Philip, who when he asked "Understandest thou what thou readest?" received the answer, "How can I, except someone shall guide me?" If we are to act as guide to other readers, we must, first, have struggled after our own interpretation of what we read; and we must have tested and re-tested that interpretation in the light of "the genuine spiritual instincts of the Christian life."

This leads us to mention Dr. Headlam's new book, *The Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ.* It has already been adequately reviewed, and we cordially agree that its appearance is "an event of outstanding importance." But

[1] Dr. Robert Law in *The Tests of Life*, p. 116.

precisely because previous volumes by the Bishop of Gloucester had offered the reader such valuable guidance, we cannot avoid a feeling of disappointment at the extremely cautious attitude in the section dealing with the great stories already referred to. Dr. Headlam is so wise in his judgments, as a rule, that we wonder if his restraint here is a great act of self-abnegation on his part, in order that his readers and students may press impetuously into the places he has declined to enter with them; that they may, for themselves, discover the burning bush and hear in their souls the divine voice. A reference to *Memories of the Future* will not, perhaps, be regarded as frivolous. In Dr. Tulse's school "some particularly instructive maps and plans were turned with their faces to the wall, and there was a strict school rule against looking at them: on the subject of these, one was told, any of the boys could have passed an examination any day. In the library there was one shelf very high up on the wall, so that you could only reach it by climbing on the chairs, which were covered with a very delicate and easily-spoiled kind of silk. This shelf contained Latin and French grammars, classical dictionaries, and the like; and there was a label on it to say, 'No boy may touch these books.' They were never out of circulation." In such a spirit, though possibly not with the same convincing success, the present paper attempts to counter the caution of a very valued teacher; its divisions are—

A. Theoretical: a plea for adventurous thinking—with all its risks and compensations.

B. Practical: a small adventure in interpretation.

A. Dr. Headlam writes: "I would venture to suggest, therefore, that, exercising a certain amount of suspense of judgment, we should refuse to rule out the story (of the feeding of the 5,000) on *a priori* grounds, as necessarily unnatural or impossible, and should recognise that something

occurred so wonderful as to stir up the people in a remarkable way. I would suggest, also, that we should not be too anxious to adopt a rationalistic explanation of the walking on the waves and the stilling of the storm, and should, there also, exercise a certain suspense of judgment. It is quite easy to devise rationalistic explanations, but they are never really convincing." (P. 278.) It is possible to agree entirely with all that is positive in such suggestions, and yet there are other things that may usefully be said.

(a) If a statement or an event has meaning, we *must* try to find our way to that meaning. It is not simply that we ought; our appetite, our imperious desire for truth, drives us to the search. There are some persons who still read their New Testament as Dolly Winthrop read—or didn't read—the letters on the pulpit-cloth: "I can't read them myself, and there's nobody rightly knows what they mean; but they've a good meaning." But for the most part we are driven to wrestle with the stories connected with the life of our Lord as Jacob wrestled with the angel; we must refuse to let them go till they have answered the questions they have stirred. This method may produce some "rationalistic explanations" as a by-product. But it might be well to describe them as tentative rather than rationalistic. Even if they be ill-conceived and fantastic they are landmarks; the more grotesque, the more useful; affording wiser guides the chance of showing us where not to go—and why. It is doubtful if the word "rationalistic" in this connexion really contributes to scientific classification. The preacher who has ventured to speak on the subject of miracles has probably been very uncomfortably aware that his defence of the miraculous has been all too rationalistic. Dr. Galloway writes in his fine discussion of the subject in *Religion and Modern Thought*: "The supernatural, then, stands or falls with Theism. But someone

may ask—can you explain, or at least suggest, how Theism should lend support to the belief that the miraculous may emerge within the world-order ? How, exactly, are we to interpret the action of a Divine Cause within the natural system ? One can only deal with this problem on the basis of a theory of the real character of the world which is revealed in experience. Here we are constrained to enter the debatable realm of metaphysics." (P. 326.) But surely when we enter that debatable realm we are not far from the kingdom of rationalistic explanation !

On the other hand how refreshing are Dr. Sanday's paragraphs concerning the miraculous in his pamphlet, *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism.* His difficulty in taking the story of the miraculous meal in its most literal sense seems to have been based, not on a process of reasoning, but on an intuition. Is not this nearer to the domain of faith than is the debatable realm which Dr. Galloway mentions ? We would suggest—without attempting further to persuade —that a great many " rationalistic explanations " of the walking on the waves are nothing but a candid setting forth of one's intuitive belief that to walk on the waves is precisely the kind of thing that our Lord would have declined to attempt.

(b) It may be the schoolboy spirit, again, that causes us to think of a fine statement by Dr. Hocking in *The Meaning of God in Human Experience.* Rejecting the pragmatic test in philosophy he yet accepts what he terms " negative pragmatism "—" That which does not work is not true." He then adds these remarkable words :—" I will even go further, and say that a theory is false if it is not interesting : a proposition that falls on the mind so dully as to excite no enthusiasm has not attained the level of truth ; though the words be accurate the import has leaked away from them and the meaning is not conveyed " (p. xiii.). When Dr.

Headlam tells us, concerning the miracle of the 5,000, no more than that "something occurred so wonderful as to stir up the people in a remarkable way," his statement seems, in Dr. Hocking's sense, to be less than true. It leaves us unsatisfied; it fails to interest. It is even unfortunate that the excitement of the crowd should be mentioned as a valuable piece of evidence. "The irrationality of the crowd is notorious . . . The rational powers of the individuals composing it are in abeyance when once its instincts are excited. The ease with which a crowd is excited and led by a skilful crowd-leader who knows how to play upon its instincts; or by a chance individual who can gain its ear and can pose for the moment as a leader; or even by any accidental happening which acts as a stimulus to its instincts—these things are too well known to need illustration." [1]

(c) It is difficult to exercise "suspense of judgment" for any lengthy period; it may even have harmful consequences. We should, however, make a distinction here. When there are those who find it difficult to accept the miraculous, but believe that to abandon the miraculous would involve the rejection of the New Testament and of Christ, it seems perfectly wise to ask for suspense of judgment regarding the smaller matter of miracles, until the great figure of our Lord has received fuller attention. But when the question is no longer at that elementary stage, when those who actually worship Jesus Christ as their Redeemer are driven, by their very reverence for Him, into a renewed attempt to get at the heart of some great story of His deeds, it cannot help them then if we advise the attitude of an open mind. Our minds are not so constructed as to remain open for any lengthy period. They shut—swiftly as a door fitted with a spring. "As a matter of fact

[1] Tansley: *The New Psychology*, p. 205.

we find ourselves believing, we hardly know how or why." "Our reason is quite satisfied, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand of us, if it can find a few arguments that will do to recite in case our credulity is criticised by some one else."[1] Often when we suppose ourselves to be open-minded, we are merely refusing to face the fact that we have, in the depths of our being, come to a decision. This holds true whether we are considering belief in a certain miracle or belief in the impossibility of that miracle!

But in proportion as men dwell with Christ—they in Him and He in them—the more alert their minds become, and the more steadily and continually will they feel able, if necessary, to modify their earlier judgments; and into each of these modifications will enter, as one compelling factor, the whole of their growing Christian experience and their developing philosophy. In such a case, suspense of judgment may be no more possible than the arrest of a flowing river. At the very least, it can be said that to exercise "suspense of judgment" deliberately, is to run the risk of repressing dawning convictions. But the repression of dawning convictions will have the same effect as does the repression of doubts, for psychologically the two processes are one and the same. Of the results of this process, Dr. Valentine has written in *Dreams and the Unconscious:* that which is repressed "may continue to influence conscious life by weakening action, finding a by-way out into consciousness when the natural one is forbidden." (p. 135).

We do not, then, rule out the feeding of the 5,000 on *a priori* grounds, as necessarily unnatural or impossible, for we remember that Jesus Christ is the great exception in human history; and given this exceptional condition, it

[1] W. James: *The Will to Believe.*

is to be expected that exceptional results will follow. But we are anxious it should not be *blindly* believed. We should like to find some meaning in the great story which would commend itself to readers, and " satisfy the genuine spiritual instincts of the Christian life " ; to this investigation we now turn.

B. It has been suggested elsewhere[1] that certain of the experiences of the Twelve can be best understood on the assumption that the group mind had asserted itself. A member of a group of twelve does not behave precisely as he behaves when acting on his sole responsibility ; neither does he think and feel precisely as he would if independent of his group. It seems possible that this is a factor in the story before us. But before considering this in detail, it may be wise to notice certain smaller matters.

It is unlikely the multitude had travelled an exhausting distance ; commentaries suggest that the people saw over the water the direction taken by our Lord, and that they knew about how far they must go on foot ; this journey they were willing to take, and presumably they were not altogether without provision for their needs. Reference to the chapter on *The Lake of Galilee* in Principal G. Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* reminds us that there was a large population all round the lake ; even if the five thousand had no provisions, little trouble would have been involved in purchasing some. There seems, then, to have been no necessity for an act so extraordinary as feeding them all by means of five loaves. Our Lord was unwilling to work miracles except when the clamant needs of men drove Him to it. This was acutely pointed out in a Bible-class discussion recently—and by a maiden of eighteen. She protested that the physical needs of the people cannot have been extreme. We believe that is a

[1] *Expository Times*, Sept., 1922.

fair statement of the situation, and that our Lord was not prompted by famine conditions.

We then notice it is the disciples who first comment on the physical needs of the multitude—that is, if we assume the simplest and truest account is found in the synoptic Gospels. But when the disciples anticipate their Master in kindly thought for others' needs, we have some reason to suppose their thoughtfulness is not entirely disinterested. We remember, accordingly, that they originally came to this spot in search of rest; that is Mark's suggestion; it seems reasonable, and we can believe that Peter, Mark's informant, had laid stress on the fact. The mission of the disciples had drawn on their physical and nervous reserves; and now the coming of the multitude interferes with the satisfaction of a vital need. The disciples do what tired men, neither greatly selfish nor greatly unselfish, are apt to do. They adopt any respectable pretext for suggesting the dismissal of their visitors. Our Lord, quick to sense the situation, entered into the spirit of it. It would have spoiled everything had He told them precisely what was in His mind; the best teachers frequently say the least. He seemed to take their suggestion with perfect seriousness, but He pushed it a little further; and that again is what a wise teacher loves to do. He suggested that to send the multitude away was scarcely the most courteous or effective method of ministering to the need that had been noticed. He said unto them, Give ye them to eat.

It is surely significant that these little details—not too flattering to the twelve—are mentioned, not only by Mark (who loved a good story, whether it flattered his friends or not), but also by Luke. Luke deals very mercifully with the twelve, and when he records that which represents them in an unfavourable light, it is usually because the thing he records is far too significant to throw away. The twelve

said, Send the multitude away; Luke found that, as well as subsequent happenings, worth recording, just because it illustrated something which was a continual temptation to the Christian Church; something which Luke must have seen continually illustrated on his missionary journeys with Paul; something to which Luke himself, if he was a Greek, must have been especially sensitive: the tendency for little groups of men to grow self-conscious; the tendency for little groups of privileged men to suppose themselves intrinsically superior; the tendency to regard those outside their magic circle as barbarians.

Luke could not easily avoid giving some thought to the development of these men; and to problems, similar to their own, within the Church at the time of his writing. He would think of them as being gradually moulded into a little society; he would think of them sent forth to preach the Kingdom and to heal men of their physical miseries. He would visualise the beginnings of pride and complacency: "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbade him because he followeth not with us." It is in harmony with such things as that, that Dr. McDougall writes, in *The Group Mind* concerning groups partly traditional, partly purposive; "an essential weakness of all such groups in a progressive community is that tradition tends to overshadow purpose; hence every such group tends towards the rigidity and relative futility of the purely traditional group. Its organisation tends to act so rigidly that it is incapable of adapting itself to the changing needs of the present and the future; the maintenance of tradition, which is but a means towards the acknowledged end, becomes an end in itself to which the primary purpose of the whole is in danger of being subordinated." Surely it is neither impossible nor unreasonable to read such things as those into the suggestion to send the multitude away.

And if our interpretation of the situation is correct, our Lord was faced by needs far more urgent than those of hungry men and women. He was faced with the task of converting the sulkiness of His disciples into something more in accord with His purposes ; of breaking down the ring-fence of their selfish pride, and of teaching them an essentially missionary spirit. Here surely is a task which would justify the extravagance of a great miracle, whether that miracle were demanded by the people's physical needs or not !

Fortunately there seems no need to guess at the thing that took place in the heart of the disciples. Ribot, in *The Psychology of the Emotions*, raises the question, " how is active altruism developed ? " He writes, on page 294, " It is an observed fact that a man attaches himself to another rather in proportion to the services he renders than to those he receives from him. There is in general a stronger current of benevolence passing from the benefactor to his protégé than vice versa. . . . *it must be so*, because the benefactor has put more of himself into the recipient of his bounty than the latter can do to him." With this the method of Jesus was in complete harmony. He persuaded His followers to do something for the very people whose presence they resented. We can imagine them making their reluctant advances at the bidding of their Master, and purely out of loyalty to Him. We can believe, too, that the moment they made a move in the right direction the full force of His personality was thrown into the adventure—much as a parent assists at a children's party ; *seeming* to assist, but in reality assuming responsibility. So that the *al fresco* lunch became one of the most soul-moving experiences in the history of these men. They discovered their one-ness with the multitude. They learned a new respect for them. The " rigidity and relative fu-

tility" of their small society gave place to something more generous and fruitful. If we are asked to produce the evidence for this, we simply repeat the short sentence that Ribot italicised—"*it must be so.*"

We make no attempt to assert that in thus interpreting the story we have read the whole of its meaning ; we suggest however, that we have noted the elements that are most practically valuable ; and, fixing our attention on these, we find that interest in the others wanes. *No effort is needed to exercise suspense of judgment,* because nothing further presses for judgment. We reverently recognise that the value of the whole incident comes from the peerless personality of Jesus Christ, and before that personality we stay, and worship. It may be well to attempt a final word on this matter, even at the risk of writing what may appear crude.

Did a quite inexplicable miracle of creation take place ? "The uncultivated human imagination in all times and places is romantic . . ." "It hungers for the thrilling and the marvellous." "All children, nearly all women, and the vast majority of men always have been, are, and probably always will be romantic." [1] It is our first instinct to see here a miracle of creation. But we are not convinced that such a miracle could have *religious* value for us at the present time. We scarcely expect any repetition of it. We suggest at times that Jesus Christ, being the perfect man, had supreme control over the forces of nature, and we find in that suggestion some hint that as we come nearer perfection, the works that He did shall we do also. But Schweitzer [2] has told us that the African is less impressed by the scientific feats of white men than by their moral qualities. That is a very striking fact. Seeming miracles contain less religious

[1] *Rousseau and Romanticism,* by Dr. Irving Babbitt, p. 5.
[2] See On the edge of the primeval forest.

meaning than is found in love, joy, peace. Surely our Lord warned us of that when He said, "In this rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven." Is it unfair to comment, here, that the bad man may retain, as science, the practical skill that the insight of the good man first discovered? In any case, does it nourish men's souls to remember that Jesus inexplicably multiplied the loaves? These questions are not rhetorical.

But, on the other hand, if the miracle were one of distribution; of pooling of resources through the creation of good fellowship; if some who were hungry quite forgot their hunger; if some, while they received no bread, yet were strangely satisfied for the simple reason that never man spake like This Man; and if the disciples, contributing their humble part to the great result, felt the glow of divine fire within their hearts; if all this happened, this is miracle—miracle of a great order; such miracle as the preacher can deeply understand and greatly use. It speaks of the amazing, the miraculous personality of our Lord. It is to this, then, that the mind gravitates, as though inevitably. We wonder at times if the evangelists wrote of the incident for this very purpose. And so we recall another remark by Dr. Hocking: "It is not the power of God, as mighty in comparison with other forces in their own fields, that is of value to us; it is not God as miracle worker; . . . it is rather God as intimate infallible associate. . . . The authentic voice of God, if it is to come to man with a wholly irresistible might of meaning, must be a still small voice" (p. 224).

S. Tonkin.

THE ETHICAL IN HINDU APHORISMS.

THERE are good grounds for believing that one of the best means of arousing the interest of non-Christians in Christianity is through the ethical. From this the exposition should lead up to a presentation of the particular manner in which in Christianity the moral is inseparably related with distinctive religious attitudes and doctrines. But the starting-point should be the best which the non-Christians themselves possess in their own ethical heritage. In the present paper it is intended to give some illustrations of the wealth of material from which such an ethical approach might be made amongst Hindus. The term Hindu is understood here not in its geographical or ethnological sense, but in its religious significance of adherence to Hinduism as distinct, for example, from Jainism or Sikhism.

The ethics of Hinduism are expounded in many ways in works of great diversity, but rarely in the form such discussions take in the West. The chief storehouses of ethical material are the great epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. There are also collections of moral tales or parables which have been used for centuries by wandering teachers and in the homes of the people. The ethical receives considerable attention in the literature of the sects, especially those of Vaishnavism, and it usually forms some part of treatises on political organisation and government. It is the subject of innumerable maxims and aphorisms. To some consideration of examples of these aphorisms and maxims the present paper is limited. It would be an interesting comparative study to enquire to what extent morality has developed amongst different peoples in relation with the origin and spread of such popular precepts. That from early times in India moral ideas were the subject of widespread aphorisms is certain. They are frequently

quoted in moral tales and in the religious literature. Until further investigations have been made, it is impossible to decide with any certainty what portions of books of aphorisms are collections of earlier floating material, and what are later compositions in the aphoristic style. But neither that nor the problems concerning their compilers and the dates of compilation need trouble us here. The immediate purpose is to give some account of the ethical teachings they contain, and for this three works well known amongst Hindus supply ample material. They are the *Hitopadeśa*, or Book of Good Counsel; Bhartrihari's *Sataka* or Wise Sayings; and the *Kural* or the Maxims of Tiravaluvar.

The *Hitopadeśa* is a book of tales somewhat similar to Æsop's Fables, but these are so extensively interspersed with aphorisms as to be equally well regarded as a collection of such. It is composed around the idea of instruction given by a Pandit to two princes, and is divided into four parts. The titles of these parts give no idea of the diversity of the ethical teachings they contain. They are (i.) The Gaining of Friends; (ii.) The Dissolution of Friendship; (iii.) War; (iv.) Peace. The *Satakas* of Bhartrihari are simply aphorisms. They are divided into three sections: (i.) Morality; (ii.) Renunciation; (iii.) Enjoyment. In spite of the denomination of the last two sections, they also contain maxims of ethical import. The last two sections may be said to bring into violent contrast the ideal of renunciation and the snares of sense, especially those associated with sex. The *Kural* is also a simple book of aphorisms, supposed to have been composed by a weaver of Mylapore, Madras, but now rightly regarded with great veneration throughout the Tamil-speaking area of India. After a brief introduction the book is divided into three parts: (i.) Righteousness; (ii.) Wealth; and (iii.) Love. An examination of the contents of these sections shows that

the division has been suggested by the Hindu concept of the three objects of the life of pursuit, *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma*. The ethical is included chiefly in the first, but the other two, especially, however, the second, which concerns social organisation, also relate to the moral life as we understand it. *Kāma*, love or pleasure, is more distinctly that of sex, but in no bad sense. It is to be differentiated from the wider concept of love which is so highly praised in the first section, on Righteousness. For the sake of brevity the references in this paper will be : H. for *Hitopadeśa* ; S. for the *Satakas* ; K. for the *Kural*.

Whatever the Hindu saints might perceive of a life transcending this of finite existence on earth, these maxims insist that otherwise righteousness is here the highest good. Thus the Tamil weaver writes : " There is no greater good than Righteousness, nor no greater ill than the forgetting of it." K. 32. Similarly, the royal Bhartrihari says : " Fortune, breath, wealth, all are transitory : Righteousness is the only stable thing in the world." " Righteousness must be loved and evil avoided even on pain of death." S. ii. 125 ; i. 28. For, as the *Hitopadeśa* puts it, " Righteousness is the only friend which follows men even after death." H. i. 67.

Righteousness is primarily an affair of the spirit ; it is rooted in the inner nature of man, and is no mere matter of expediency. " Why should the pure-minded man require a sacred bathing place ? " S. i. 55. " Thou thyself art a river ; self-restraint is thy water ; morality is thy bank ; pity is thy waves. Here perform thy rites of purification, O son of Pandu, for the outward washing of water alone shall not purify thy inner self." H. iv. 88. " Be pure in heart : all righteousness is contained in this one commandment ; all other things are nought but empty sound." K. 34. But this inner basis of morality does not imply that

it is a condition of passive feeling : the practice of righteousness demands wisdom and energy. " Act not hastily, but with discrimination." " The truly learned is he who acts wisely." " Reason is stronger than force." H. iv. 100 ; i. 184 ; ii. 84. " Wisdom is truly the most beautiful ornament a man can possess ; the man who lacks wisdom is but an animal." S. i. 20. " To separate the true from the false in everything, whatever its nature may be, that is the part of a wise understanding." K. 355. Similarly there is a common insistence in these books on the value of time and the need for energy. So the king contends : " Mankind's great enemy is idleness. There is no friend like energy, and if you cultivate that you will never fail." S. i. 86. The poor weaver also felt that. " Behold the men that hold in their hands the resource called energy : they will never despair, saying, Alas, we are ruined. . . . Behold the men that are wanting in energy : the glory of an exhaustless liberality can never be theirs." K. 593, 598. The Book of Good Counsel urges men ; " Do good day and night." " He who says : What matters time ? is a fool." H. iii. 22, ii. 90.

Wise activity inspired by purity of heart should be allied with faith in God and free from feelings of anxiety as to the results or as to the conditions upon which life depends. " A man should not be over anxious for his livelihood, for that has been provided by the Creator. The teats of the mother supply nourishment to her child as soon as it is born." " People who have work to do in the world should not allow themselves to be unduly harassed." H. i. 188, i. 75. " They alone escape from sorrow who take refuge in the feet of Him who hath no equal." K. 7. In this spirit of faith men should cultivate a feeling of contentment. " The man with a contented mind has abundant riches." H. 151. " The complaisant man thinketh

himself poor only when he is impotent to oblige those who solicit his aid." K. 219. "Firmness in adversity, self-control . . . (and) humility in prosperity and respect for one's fellows—this is a sacred doctrine taught by the good, though adherence to it may be as difficult as the attempt to stand on the edge of a sword." S. i. 63, 64. "In prosperity the heart of the wise man is as soft and pliable as the lotus, but in adversity it is as firm as the imperishable mountain rock." S. i. 66. With such contentment will come the virtue of patience. "If a man have patience, why should he need armour? But if he have anger in his heart what other enemy need he fear?" S. i. 21. "Patience is an ornament to a man." H. iii. 2. "Behold the man who hath learned wisdom and whose mind is tranquil and under perfect control: Righteousness pilgrimageth to his home in order to have a look at him." "They will snap their fingers even at destiny who succumb not to it but labour unremittingly in despite of it." K. 130, 620.

The attitude so far depicted is more concerned with the individual's own peace of mind than with the welfare of others. But thus free from anxiety on their own account men should find ample scope for their activity in striving for the welfare of others. Bhartrihari asks: "What virtue is higher than generosity?" "Good men devote their attention to benefiting others without thinking of themselves." S. i. 55, 74. "An enlightened man will give up even riches and life for the sake of others: what can be better than renunciation of all things for the sake of the good, since death is certain?" Hospitality is rightly regarded as a characteristic feature of the life of the East. "Behold the man who hath tended the out-going guest and waiteth for the incoming one; he is a welcome guest unto the Gods." "Behold the man who performeth not the sacrifice of hospitality: he will say one day, I have

toiled hard and laid me up a great treasure, but it is all in vain, for there is none to comfort me." K. 86, 88. "Hospitality, such as is usual, must be shown even to an enemy when he has once entered the house. A tree does not refuse its shade to the man who is cutting it down. If there is no food to offer, a stranger ought at least to be greeted with civility." "Good men show compassion even to beings that are worthless. The moon does not refuse her light to the house of a Chandala." "Is this man one of us, or is he a stranger? This is what narrow-minded men say. To those of liberal disposition the whole earth is but one family." H. 60, 63, 72.

With the practice of hospitality may be associated the wide form of interpretation of the concept of *ahimsa* or not-killing. This is understood to imply not simply harmlessness but also positive kindness, and this not only to mankind but to all kinds of living beings. "What is righteousness? Compassion toward all living beings." H. i. 156. It is in this connexion that Hindu ethics gets nearest to what is meant by love in Christian ethics. In fact the *Kural* has a chapter on love which constitutes one of the most striking portions of a book which as a whole is itself one of the most impressive in Hindu literature. "Those that love not live only for themselves: as to those that love, their very bones are for others' occasions. Love maketh the heart tender towards all: and tenderness yieldeth that priceless treasure called friendship. The blessing of the blessed, they say, is only the reward of a constant love. They are fools who say that love is for the righteous alone: for even against the evil-minded love is the only ally for man. . . . The seat of life is in love: who hath it not is only a mass of skin-encased bone." K. 72, 74, 75, 76, 80. It is hardly to be wondered at that the Christians who first met with these stanzas surmised that

their author, the weaver of Mylapore, had learned them from some Christian source coming through St. Thomas, who, according to legend, settled and taught in Mylapore.

It has already been observed that the titles of two sections of the *Hitopadeśa* are concerned with friendship, and the passage of the *Kural* just quoted regards this "priceless treasure" as a fruit of love. Friendship in Hindu ethics occupies a place of an importance almost, but not quite, equal to that which it is given in the ethics of ancient Greece. "Not in a mother, not in a wife, not in a brother, not in a son, are men so confident as in a friend who is of like disposition to themselves." Friends should be made of every kind and to any number. Nevertheless "a friend who is the elixir of love to the eyes, the joy of the heart, a vessel of sympathy whether in pleasure or pain is hardly to be found." H. i. 220, 54, 224. It would be difficult to find a finer description of friendship than in the passage of the *Kural*: "Where doth friendship hold its court? It is where two hearts beat in perfect unison and combine to lift each other up in every possible way." "That man alone is thy friend who turneth thee aside from wrong, directeth thee toward the right, and beareth thee company in misfortune." K. 789, 787.

Notwithstanding what is sometimes said as to the attitude of the oriental to the subject of sex, it is only just to insist that the Hindu has high ideals set before him in this direction. There is no false modesty in acknowledging the attractions of sex: its appeal and value are fully and frankly admitted. But there is strenuous opposition to the attempt of the passions to usurp a place in life which is not their due. "The true object of amorous intercourse is the uniting of the hearts of the two participants in it, and when this end is not accomplished, the union resembles merely the contact of corpses." "What man, I ask, can love a prosti-

tute—this scythe who cuts down the divine shrub of wisdom, the roots of which are planted in paradise itself ? " S. iii. 29, 89. It is not merely oriental that more prominence is given to maxims of chastity for the woman than for the man, but the latter is counselled not to fall a victim to inordinate desires. " A man will preserve his greatness, wisdom, nobility and learning until the god of love causes his frame to tingle with the arrows of desire." S. iii. 61. " The adulterer knoweth no respite from four things, hatred, sin, fear, and shame." " Behold the high-souled man that looketh not on another's wife; he is more than righteous—he is saintly." K. 146, 148. " What is there grander than woman, when she is strong in the strength of her chastity ? " " She is the good housewife who guardeth her virtue and her reputation, and tendeth her husband with loving care." K. 54, 56. " That woman is the inheriter of everlasting happiness who loves her husband, whether he be polite or rude, a saint or a sinner." H. iii. 26.

Hindu ethics give prominence to the virtues of family relationships. It is in the sphere of the family in the widest sense of that term that the social character of Hindu morality is most developed. " What is the duty of the father to his son ? It is to make him worthy to sit in the front rank in the assembly." " What is the duty of the son to his father ? It is to make the world ask : For what austerities of his hath he been blessed with such a son ? " K. 67, 70. Respect is to be shown to parents, the aged, the teacher, the priest and the king. The ruler occupied so important a place in Hindu society of olden times that it is not surprising to find very frequent references to the ideals which a king should strive to realise. The kingly virtues come in for no attention in the *Satakas* of the royal Bhartrihari, but as might be expected from the idea of its

composition, the *Hitopadeśa* devotes much attention to them. A large part of the section Artha, or Wealth, in the *Kural* is directly or indirectly concerned with the "qualifications of the prince." "Behold the prince who is liberal and gracious and just, and who tended his people with care: he is a light among kings." K. 390. "A king should protect his subjects like a father." H. ii. 108.

No virtue ranks higher than truthfulness in Hindu ethics, nevertheless it does not occupy so very prominent a place in these collections of aphorisms. A short chapter is devoted to it in the *Kural*. "The cleanliness of the body belongeth to water; but the purity of the heart is proved by truthfulness." "Many things have I seen in this world; but of all the things I have seen nothing is higher than truth." K. 298, 300. The same conception is implied in the passage from the *Satakas*: "Honourable men may turn away from life and happiness, but, as they are bent on truth, they do not cast off their truthfulness. Truthfulness, which is the origin of modesty and of all the virtues, follows them wherever they go: it makes them pure in heart and is as dear to them as their own mother." S. i. 110. "A truthful man, when he has made peace, does not change, because he holds his word inviolable." H. iv. 27.

A man is taught to forgive those who have wronged him and to show mercy. "The joy of revenge lasteth but a day; but the glory of him who forgiveth endureth for ever." "If thou want to be grand always, be forgiving unto all." K. 156, 154. "Truly the forgiveness of friends and foes is the virtue which adorns the religious," says the *Hitopadeśa*, but "it is a fault in a king to extend his forgiveness to those who have committed crimes."

It would be difficult to name a vice which is not condemned or a virtue which is not commended in these books of aphorisms. One passage will give a general view of the

moral life as here described : " How do the good behave ? They curb their amorous desires ; are patient in all circumstances ; are not deceived by illusion, do not long for what is evil ; speak the truth ; hold fast that which is good ; seek the company of virtuous men ; honour the wise ; become reconciled even with their enemies ; conceal their own virtues ; take care of their good name ; and show themselves merciful to those in adversity. How few noble spirits there are whose thoughts, speech, and actions are, so to speak, impregnated with nectar, by whom countless blessings are bestowed upon the three worlds ; who exalt even the slightest virtues of another to the height of a mountain, and whose hearts are continually overflowing." S. i. 77, 78.

That Hindu ethics are not pessimistic might be established in many ways. Here, in conclusion, it must suffice to give one illustration of the general attitude, as shown in the aspiration which closes the *Hitopadeśa* : " May happiness and peace ever be the lot of virtuous kings : may the good ever be free from calamity : may the glory of the righteous ever increase : may skilful policy, like a loving woman, ever cling to the necks and kiss the lips of ministers : and may joy, increasing day by day, be to all people." H. iv. 111.

Alban G. Widgery.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM.

WHEN WAS NINEVEH DESTROYED?

THE usual date for the fall of Nineveh is 608–607 B.C. But a new Babylonian Chronicle (n. 21, 901) in the British Museum has just yielded evidence which appears to fix the date four years earlier, in July–August, 612 B.C. Then it was that the Assyrian kingdom was shattered by Kyaxares and his Median troops, after a prolonged, fierce siege, which had commenced in 614. This interesting discovery is published by Mr. C. J. Gadd in *The Fall of Nineveh* (British Museum, 1923); he prints a transliteration and translation of the chronicle, with notes and introduction. Another fresh item is the fact that, shortly before the end, an Assyrian leader called Ashur-uballit managed to break out of the doomed city and carried on the Assyrian kingdom at Harran in the West, where he could count on the help of Egypt. Help was given to this upstart in 608 by Pharaoh-Necho, who finally met his doom at the hands of the victorious Nebuchadrezzar. It was at the beginning of this Egyptian enterprise that Josiah, king of Judah, unluckily challenged the Egyptian monarch and was killed. But Mr. Gadd points out that the account in 2 Kings xxiii. 29 appears inaccurate. We read there that "Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of the Assyrians to the river Euphrates." If the Babylonian chronicle is correct, he marched to the aid of the struggling Assyrians, not to attack them; his real opponents were the Babylonians and their allies. Consequently the tradition in Josephus (*Antiquities*, x. 5. 1) is more accurate, viz., that Pharaoh-Necho marched to attack the Medes and the Babylonians who had destroyed the Assyrian kingdom. "Necho's march," Mr. Gadd observes (p. 16), "was evidently but one among a number of efforts made by the Egyptian kings to bolster up the falling power of Assyria as the most reliable support against the northern barbarians." Perhaps, however, Josephus was wrong in naming the Medes; the Scythians are more likely to have been the allies of the Babylonians encountered by the Egyptian king.

Whether or not Elkosh was El-kush, a town near Nineveh, the fall of Nineveh is hailed by the prophet Nahum of Elkosh. One

couplet in his fierce song of delight over the downfall of the city has been thought to reflect a circumstance in the siege (i. 8):

> "With an overrunning flood
> Will He make a full end of the place."

Does this refer to the fact or tradition, preserved by Diodorus and Xenophon, that "the capture of the city was rendered possible only by a great storm of rain and thunder, which caused the river to rise in flood and sweep away the wall to a length of 20 *stadia*"? The text is uncertain, and the words might be no more than a metaphorical description of utter ruin. But, if they are taken literally, the Babylonian chronicle supplies no corroborative detail, although, as Mr. Gadd indicates (pp. 17, 18), the time of year which it implies would be quite suitable.

In connexion with the book of Nahum, an attractive emendation of i. 5 has been recently offered by P. Maternus Wolff in the *Biblische Zeitschrift* (1922), p. 92. The ordinary text of the description of the theophany tells how "the earth riseth up (or, is upheaved) at His presence," which is rightly altered to "the earth is laid waste (or, burnt) before them." But what of the next line, "yea, the world (יתבל) and all that dwell therein"? Many editors omit the initial vav. But Wolff suggests that the original reading was וְיִבָּלוּ, the final vav belonging to this verb (נבל) instead of to the following כל. The lines would thus run:

> "The earth is laid waste before Him,
> and all the inhabitants therein sink away."

THE LOGOS-DOCTRINE OF ST. PAUL.

Our conviction is strong that many New Testament readers must feel confused when they come to such passages as Colossians i. 16, 17: "It was by him (i.e. Christ) that all things were created both in heaven and on earth, both the seen and the unseen . . . all things have been created by him and for him: he is prior to all, and all cohere in him" (Moffatt's tr.). And some will probably declare that this is an isolated position in the Apostle's letters. They are at once reminded of the Fourth Evangelist and his Prologue: "The Logos existed in the very beginning, the Logos was with God, the Logos was divine. He was with God in the very beginning: through him all existence came into being, no existence came into being apart from him" (John i.

1–3, Moffatt's tr.). But an important passage in Paul is not so familiar, 1 Corinthians viii. 6: "For us there is one God, the Father, from whom all comes, and for whom we exist; one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom all exists, and by whom we exist" (Moffatt's tr.). In neither of the Pauline passages we have quoted does the Apostle say anything by way of explanation. He never mentions the Logos. But he evidently assumes that his readers will be able at once to grasp the "cosmic" function of Christ. Therefore we may suppose that he has dealt with the subject already in his personal teaching among them. What startles us in the passages is their remote distance from Paul's personal experience. We know that his way of thinking about Christ lies close to what he himself has found in his Lord. But this also is a sphere in which he moves freely, one which must have had a very real significance for his mind. In the New Testament we associate it chiefly with the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. But there is a hint of it also in Hebrews i. 2: "In these days at the end he (i.e. God) has spoken to us by a Son, a Son whom he appointed heir of the universe, as it was by him that he created the world" (Moffatt's tr.).

Most scholars find the clue to the Prologue of John in the thought of Philo. And it is inevitable that we should look to the same quarter in the case of Paul. Some passages in Philo especially stand in close parallelism with those from Paul with which we are concerned. E.g., *Cherubim* 127 (Cohn-Wendland): *εὑρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον αὐτοῦ* (i.e. *κόσμος*) *τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ δι' οὗ κατεσκενάσθη.* *Leg. Allegor.* III. 96 (Cohn—Wendland): *σκιὰ θεοῦ δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποίει.* Here very explicitly, and elsewhere, Philo describes the Logos as God's instrument in creation. It is not difficult to find the origin of the speculation. In Jewish thought the conception of God had become increasingly transcendental, and the same thing was true of later Hellenistic, especially Stoic, speculation. A wide gulf was ever being postulated between Him and the world. This gulf had to be bridged. And Philo uses the Stoic conception of the Logos to serve that purpose. But we know that similar methods had been employed before his time. It is almost needless to recall the function ascribed to Wisdom in the literature of Judaism. The correct translation

of *Proverbs* viii. 80 is given in R.V. "I (i.e. Wisdom) was by him, as a master-workman." Thus Wisdom is assigned the precise function which Philo ascribes to the Logos. Similarly, in *Wisdom of Solomon* vii. 22, σοφία is called ἡ . . πάντων τεχνῖτις. To the same group of conceptions belongs that of the Divine Spirit in one of its aspects. That is recognised both in *Wisdom of Solomon* and by Paul.

At the time when *Colossians* was written, these ideas were in the air. It is therefore difficult to determine whether Paul was directly influenced by Philo's conception. Stoic influence was extremely wide-spread, and it is only by accident that we have the literary evidence of Philo in such ample abundance for the Logos. The notion of powers, semi-personal, semi-abstract, which linked the world to God, must have prevailed on a large scale. So that it is impossible to trace precisely the genesis of Paul's conception. But undoubtedly we find that here Paul was caught up in the currents of his time. That Stoic influence was a real factor in the formulation of his thought in these passages is plain from his use of the term συνέστηκεν in Colossians i. 18. This directly points to the Stoic idea of the world as a σύστημα, although, of course, συνίστημι occurs again and again in this precise sense, both in Plato and Aristotle. Lightfoot has pointed out how often Philo has the idea of the Logos as the δεσμός of the universe.

It appears, therefore, superfluous to suppose, as has so often been done, that Paul was absorbed in subtle speculations as to the relation of the pre-existent Christ to the universe. The prevalent usage of his time affords a sufficient explanation of his language in Colossians. H. A. A. Kennedy.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN.

According to Wendt (*Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1923, 57–79) the theme of the epistle is not christological but ethical. Yet the author shares much of Paul's christology, except that he does not use the idea of Christ's pre-existence. Wendt denies that this pre-existence is implied even in i. 1–4. What that passage rather implies is the historical revelation of God in Jesus, and in the epistle there is an appeal to the gospel taught by Jesus, the gospel of God as love and light, which is

absent from Paul. In Paul, the earthly activity of Jesus is subordinate to the redeeming work of his death; whereas in 1 John, according to Wendt, to "remain in Him" means "to remain in connexion with the historical Jesus Christ by means of adhering strictly to the revelation made by Him during His earthly life, adhering to His commands, to His example of righteous life, and self-sacrificing love."

Dr. Erasmus Nagl, in the *Biblische Zeitschrift* (1922, pp. 77–91), divides the epistle into three sections, introduced by a preface (i. 1–4) and ended with an epilogue (v. 19–20). The first (i. 5–ii. 28) has three sections (i. 5–ii. 6, ii. 7–17, ii. 18–28); so has the second, in ii. 29–iii. 12, iii. 13–24, and iv. 1–6; the third (iv. 7–v. 19) divides into iv. 7–21, v. 1–12, v. 13–19. It is iv. 7–21 which is least tractable, but this is judged to be one paragraph on "God is Love," while v. 14–21 is the κόσμος paragraph. The novelty in this analysis is, of course, the division of each of the sections into three sub-sections.

THE NICOLAITANS.

In the apocalypse of John a sect or party called "the Nicolaitans" is attacked and repudiated. The Church at Ephesus is praised for having rejected it (ii. 6); in the Church at Pergamum it had gained a footing (ii. 15); apparently it had made headway also in the Church at Thyatira (ii. 20 f.). The problem of the origin and tenets of the Nicolaitans has been re-opened by Harnack in *The Journal of Religion* (July, pp. 413–422). He concludes that they were Persian, gnostic, libertine Christians, who entered Asia Minor during the last quarter of the first century, and appropriated the name of Nicolaus the "deacon" of the primitive Jerusalem Church. This Nicolaus, according to Harnack, was a religious ascetic, who had really nothing in common with the party. He had declared that "it was necessary to abuse the flesh," i.e. to practise severe ascetic methods. He had further given up his wife, as a proof of his renunciation of the world. Harnack accepts these early traditions as authentic, and indeed seeks to rehabilitate Clement of Alexandria's theory that the Nicolaitans perverted the ascetic views of Nicolaus into a justification of libertinism; their appeal to the authority of his name was as illegitimate as the claim of

the Marcionites to be the true representatives of St. Paul. With regard to the evidence from the Apocalypse, Harnack denies that "Nicolaitans" is an allegorical name, though he admits that their prophetess Jezebel was so-called on allegorical principles.

THE MONTANISTS.

In the Apocalypse of John the prophet's letter to the Church at Philadelphia (iii. 7–13), with its reference to the descent of the new Jerusalem, is connected by Mr. W. M. Calder (*Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, August, pp. 309–354) with the propaganda of Montanism. He offers a carefully documented study of the early Christian epitaphs and inscriptions in Phrygia, arguing from archæological evidence that "the Montanist type of Christianity was launched into Central Phrygia from some point on a great route, that it competed with the South-Asian type for the evangelisation of Central Phrygia, that it was eventually worsted and driven northwards into the rustic and backward region of the Tembris." Ardabau, the spot associated with the origin of Montanus, is identified with Kardaba or Kallataba near Philadelphia—a suggestion already made by Sir W. M. Ramsay. The Ignatian letter to the Philadelphian Church is interpreted as indicating a controversy with local Montanism, and similar watermarks are detected in "The Martyrdom of Polycarp." The archæological evidence is led to supplement that already published in the Expositor for 1888 by Sir W. M. Ramsay. But Mr. Calder thinks that the Philadelphian letter in the Apocalypse was one of the passages to which the later Montanists must certainly have appealed. They did value the Apocalypse highly. They originated in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. A belief in the literal fulfilment of the prophecy about the descent of the new Jerusalem was one of their main tenets. Indeed some expected that the new Jerusalem would descend at Pepuza, east of Philadelphia itself. "If the Philadelphian letter shows that, at the end of the first century, Philadelphian Christianity was similar in an important respect to that of the sect which afterwards originated there, it is equally clear that, when Montanism was formulated in the middle of the second century, this Philadelphian movement was certain to regard the Philadelphian letter as its charter and marching orders." Such is the hypothesis of the article.

REVIEWS.

Introduction to the Old Testament. By Dr. E. Sellin. Translated by W. Montgomery, M.A., B.D., with an Introduction and a Bibliography for English Readers by Professor A. S. Peake, D.D. London : Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xxxviii., 271. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

We have now three standard Old Testament Introductions in English, Driver's, Cornill's, and Sellin's. When Sellin's volume first appeared, in 1910, it was sharply attacked by Cornill, and some controversy was stirred. But the book has passed into a third edition, thanks to its real merits of incisiveness and independence. Sellin represents a position rather different from that of Wellhausen and his school. He argues that the history of the literary forms, for example, makes it possible and necessary to regard some of the material as early ; also, that more account must be taken of Oriental literature. Substantially, of course, his criticism of the Hexateuch is Grafian, the main novelty being his emphasis on J as older than E. Though the resolution of the early books into sources leaves some results problematical, Sellin holds that " the one absolutely established scientific fact is that the Pentateuch grew up in the post-Mosaic period " ; indeed, the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.), if it does not belong to a late form of E, may be placed in the Greek period, in which case the enemy of verse 21 (" the no-people ") would be the Macedonians against whom, Sellin agrees with Duhm, the denunciations of Habakkuk are directed. The enforcement of the Deuteronomic code by Josiah " may be regarded as at once the noblest and highest, and also, doubtless, the most tragic attempt which has ever been made to bring men the Gospel by way of Law " (pp. 80–81). While JE arose during the reign of Hezekiah, Sellin thinks that D and E were combined shortly before the Exile, and that P was written between 537 and 458 B.C. ; P could not have been recognised in Jerusalem before the Exile, and was joined " with JED to form the present Pentateuch, between 458 and 444 by Ezra in Jerusalem." As for the books of Samuel, he agrees with Duhm and Budde that the early and main source was probably composed by Abiathar, the priest of

Nob. He reiterates now his view that the Servant of Yahweh, in the famous "Isaianic" prophecies, was not the prophet himself, as Mowinckel thought, but Moses," who, according to the prophetic tradition, suffered a martyr's death at Shittim" (cf. Hosea v. 2, ix. 7–14, xii. 13, xiii. 1, and Num. xxv. 1–15). This is a change of view, for in the first edition Sellin took the Servant to be King Jehoiachin. The section on the minor prophets is, on the whole, a summary of the results in his recent commentary (1922). One feature is his attempt to prove that the eschatological passages, with their hopes of restoration, are genuine, as e.g. in the case of Hosea. He bisects Joel into an early Locust-poem and its later edition with apocalyptic traits. Zech. ix.–xiv. he now regards as a third century apocalypse, written by a man who "wrote in the character of a pre-Exilic prophet." The effects of Hölscher's criticism are seen in the discussion on Daniel. Hölscher makes ch. i. the introduction to ii. 4b–6, which is pre-Maccabean; similarly Sellin conjectures under i.–vii. an Aramaic apocalypse of Daniel, though he does not isolate ch. vii. as Hölscher and Haller do, the latter critic (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1921, pp. 83–87), relegating it to the fourth century B.C. In the psalter Sellin finds a nucleus of pre-Exilic and even Davidic psalms, and sees no definite proof that there are any Maccabean ones, not even xliv., lxxiv., lxxix. and lxxxiii. This is one of the most disputable sections in the book, and another is the argument that it was a single author who gradually wrote the book of Job, even inserting the Elihu speeches. However, as Professor Peake says, "at present it is less important for the student to take sides in these controversies than to have the case for both sides presented to him." One of the merits of this invaluable book is that it takes its own line with a reasoned independence. Dr. Sellin represents a development in the Higher Criticism, and his succinct manual has distinct educational value; it shows how thought has been moving since Driver and Cornill wrote. This English edition is splendidly equipped, and Mr. Montgomery's translation is, as we might expect, admirable. In the next reprint, however, correct the slip about "Gerizim" and "Ebal" on p. 19, and the misprint at the foot of p. 85.

* * * * *

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament. Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law. By Sir James George Frazer, F.R.S., F.B.A. Abridged edition. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xxx., 476. Price 18*s.*

In reviewing Paul Leidecker's *Débris de Mythes Cananéens dans le neuf premiers chapitres de la Genèse*, M. René Dussaud observed that Leidecker would have gained much by reading Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*. So would many people who do not write books upon the undergrowth of the Old Testament. But, "as a number of readers have neither the means to buy nor the leisure to read the original edition in three portly volumes," Sir J. G. Frazer has skilfully compressed them into a single volume, which contains the essential features of the larger work. As there is no index of biblical passages, it may be useful to enumerate the line followed. First, the creation of man (Gen. i. 24–ii. 25), in pp. 1–15, and the fall of man (Gen. iii. 1–24) in pp. 15–33, where Sir J. G. Frazer argues that in the original myth the subtle serpent himself ate the fruit of the tree of life and so secured immortality. The mark of Cain (Gen. iv. 15) may have been made to protect him against the ghost of Abel (pp. 33–45). The deluge (pp. 46–143) was borrowed and adapted from the Sumerians; the story in Genesis vi.–viii. is a combination of two different versions, and rich illustrations from folklore are provided. The tower of Babel (pp. 143–152), as told in Genesis xi. 1–9, is a legendary attempt to explain the variety of human languages; perhaps it was suggested by the sight of the enormous Babylonian temple at Borsippa.[1] In the patriarchal age, the rite at the covenant with Abraham (Gen. xv. 1–17) is first explained (pp. 153–172) as retributive and sacramental, the slaughter of the animal involving punishment for the man who broke the compact, and the passing between the pieces indicating the union of both parties. Jacob's life offers several topics. First (pp. 172–223) the trick played on his "doddered father," to which he was "instigated by his mother Rebekah, whose maiden name might have been Sharp, to judge by the skill with which she choused her husband"; this is illustrated by the widespread custom of the younger son inheriting instead of the older. The trick of wearing kid-skins (pp. 204–

[1] See Professor J. P. Peters in *Journal of American Oriental Society* (1920), pp. 157–159.

223) is explained as " a reminiscence of an ancient legal ceremony of new birth from a goat." The dream at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 10–22) is discussed in connexion with the folklore of dreams, heavenly ladders, and sacred stones (pp. 223–237). Then (pp. 237–243) comes the story of how Jacob " kissed his pretty cousin's face and wept. . . For a time the selfish schemer appeared to be transformed into the impassioned lover. It was the one brief hour of poetry and romance in a prosaic and even sordid life." The weeping (Gen. xxix. 11) is shown to be an Oriental conventional mode of greeting. The Mizpah-incident (Gen. xxxi. 43 f.) leads the author, by the way, to prefer the A.V. to the R.V. in verse 46 ; the two men sat on the stones as they ate, probably to ratify their compact (pp. 243–250). The wrestling at the Jabbok ford (Gen. xxxii. 23 f.) was with the river god (pp. 251–258). The one incident in Joseph's life is his use of the divining cup (Gen. xliv. 5), for which a variety of parallels is adduced (pp. 258–262), and the only incident selected from the life of Moses is his rescue from the Nile (Exod. ii. 10), which " presents features which may reasonably be suspected of belonging to the realm of folklore rather than of history " (pp. 263–269). The " roystering swashbuckler " Samson, with his magical hair (Judges xvi. 17), is discussed in the light of similar beliefs (pp. 269–282). Then (pp. 282–291) the phrase about " the bundle of life " (1 Sam. xxv. 29) is discussed, and (pp. 291–307) also the witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii. 3–25) with her gift of ventriloquism. Five long notes then follow, on the sin of a census (2 Sam. xxiv. 1 f., etc.), which is illustrated from the aversion of most ignorant peoples to be counted (pp. 307–313), on the phrase about " the keepers of the threshold " (Jeremiah xxxv. 4, lii. 24, etc.), which is explained from the ancient reverence for thresholds (pp. 313–322), on sacred oaks and terebinths (pp. 322–337), on the high places of Israel (pp. 337–343), and on the silent widow (pp. 343–349), a handful of illustrations from folklore suggested by the fact that the Hebrew name for " widow" may mean " a silent woman "—silence for her being an ancient law of mourning. The rest of the volume is devoted to folklore illustrations of the Jewish Law, introduced by a general critical explanation of how the Law arose and worked (pp. 350–360). Although little or nothing in the Law " can be proved to have emanated from Moses," the author protests that this does not

mean that Moses never existed. The prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk (Exod. xxiii. 19) was originally the tenth commandment in one of the ancient traditions (pp. 360–377); it is not due to humane feeling, but to reprobation of some magical rite. The prohibition of cutting the body or the hair in sign of mourning (Deut. xiv. 1, etc.) sprang from a desire to discourage propitiation or worship of the dead (pp. 377–397). The command to kill an ox that had gored anyone fatally (Exod. xxi. 28, 31) is then illustrated (pp. 397–417), and finally the wearing of golden bells by the Jewish priest (Exod. xxviii. 33) is shown to have been meant to drive off wicked spirits (pp. 417–439) rather than to attract the attention of good spirits.

This will give some idea of the materials provided by Sir J. G. Frazer. His conclusions are not always those of other critics, but he produces a vast amount of more or less relevant data which require to be estimated in any case. The trend of his book is not to disparage the Hebrew religion. "On the contrary," as he protests, "the revelation of the baser elements which underlay the civilisation of ancient Israel, as they underlie the civilisation of modern Europe, serves rather as a foil to enhance by contrast the glory of a people which, from such dark depths of ignorance and cruelty, could rise to such heights of wisdom and virtue."

SOME RECENT LITERATURE ON ST. PAUL AND PAULINISM.

The Faith of St. Paul: A Study of St. Paul as the Interpreter of Jesus. By D. M. Ross, D.D. James Clarke & Co. Pp. 237. Price 6*s.*

In fourteen chapters Dr. Ross sets himself to show how Paul, in spite of his characteristic phraseology, is a true interpreter of the mind of Jesus, that his faith was not shaped by any Christ of apocalyptic fantasy but by the historical Jesus, and that "the big things in Paul, the things about which he speaks with a glow of enthusiasm, reflected again and again in a certain lyrical, or at least rhythmical, form of expression—these things he is never weary of acknowledging that he owes to Jesus." Dr. Ross does not argue that Paul knew Jesus on earth; he simply shows that the apostle, who was in Jerusalem soon after

the Crucifixion, heard about Him from the Pharisees. Otherwise, he would never have started to persecute the Christians. He must have been convinced not only that Jesus was dangerous, but why He was dangerous. Another point at which Dr. Ross abstains from hasty verdicts is the relation of Paul to marriage, as reflected in the seventh chapter of First Corinthians. Why did he make so little of wedded life ? Was it due to eschatological pre-occupations ? This, Dr. Ross holds, " takes us only a little way," and he suggests that Paul's home life perhaps had not given him a very inspiring idea of marriage. " Strict discipline, we may believe, was enforced, but if love had been a dominant feature in the relations between father and mother, and between parents and children, would not his appreciation of the spiritual worth of wedded life have been somewhat warmer ? We can but ask the question." Dr. Ross rightly lays stress upon Paul's idea of lordship over the world as the clue to his faith and ethics. He interprets this with an alert sense of what is vital in modern religion, and brings out with point as well as sense the continuity here and elsewhere between Jesus and Paul.

* * * * *

The Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul. By Professor Adolf Deissmann, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton. Pp. xii., 287. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Ten lectures delivered in England last spring, the first five describing the communion of Jesus with God, and the last five analysing Paul's communion with God. In the first part, Dr. Deissmann confines himself on the whole to the synoptic records, though he believes that the reminiscences of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel coincide remarkably with those of the synoptists. He finds special material in the records of the vital prayer-life in Jesus. In this connexion he gets over the difficulty about the Gethsemane prayer (" How could the disciples have heard it, if they were asleep ? ") by suggesting that they were not asleep. The sleeping disciples is " a secondary feature of the story," due to the erroneous literal interpretation, by tradition, of the words, " Watch and pray." They were told to watch, because they had been asleep ! Another rather doubtful argument is that " son of man " in Mark ii. 27, 28 meant " man " (pp. 142 f.) ; Dr. Deissmann admits that Jesus took *Son of Man* from Daniel

vii. 13 as a messianic title, but not here. When he comes to deal with Paul's personal religion, he admits that it is unlikely that "the young zealot was ever personally acquainted with the earthly Jesus." On this point he and Dr. Ross are agreed. Paul, he thinks, was a mystic before he was a Christian, but in his Christian experience mysticism became heightened by his communion with the Lord. Dr. Deissmann distinguishes two kinds of mysticism, one in which the mystic reacts in response to the action of God, the other a type of human effort to induce the divine reaction. Paul's type of mysticism is the former, which throbs with an ethical activity of service. Like Dr. Ross, Dr. Deissmann interprets Pauline doctrines as expressions of an inward religious life, which he succeeds in depicting devoutly and yet not in a dilettante spirit. The book is easy to read, and suffused with an attractive combination of scholarship and spiritual feeling.

* * * * *

Die "Schwachen" in Korinth und Rom, nach den Paulusbriefen. Von Dr. Max Rauer. *Biblische Studien*, xxi. 2–3. Herder & Co., Freiburg im Breisgau. 1923.

Both at Corinth and at Rome Paul had to deal with scruples felt by Christians whom he calls "the weak," scruples over the question of food. What might a Christian eat? What ought a Christian to refrain from eating? At Corinth the issue was raised in connexion with "food offered to idols," i.e. food sold in the markets which came from animals originally "sacrificed" to pagan gods. Only a small part of the carcase was taken for the worship; the rest was sold for food, or used in feasts connected with the temple. "Strong" or enlightened Christians, holding that idols did not exist, had no difficulty whatever. But some sensitive Christians in the Church hesitated, and in 1 Corinthians viii. 1 f. Paul deals with the difference of opinion between the two parties. These "weaker" Christians are regarded by Dr. Rauer (pp. 1–75) as Christians who had been born pagans and who could not throw off the superstitious belief that to partake of such food would somehow bring them under the power of the evil spirits or idols. This is on the whole probable. Why Paul did not quote the apostolic decree (pp. 68–75) is a question which Dr. Rauer answers by arguing that the food-prohibition of Acts xv. must have been well known, but that it was not

likely, perhaps, to impress the self-satisfied Corinthians, and that Paul preferred to argue the matter on the ground of principle rather than on that of authority, which is not unlike Dr. V. H. Stanton's view in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (July, 1923, pp. 368 f.): "It would be natural that as time went on and as the Gospel was carried farther from Jerusalem into lands where there were fewer Jews than in districts of Asia Minor, the formal promulgation of 'the decrees' should be dropped; and in any case Paul would undoubtedly prefer to appeal to a principle rather than to authority, except the highest." In the second part of the essay (pp. 76–186) Dr. Rauer restates the old and less convincing theory that "the weak" at Rome were also Christians who had been born in paganism. The discussion in Romans xiv. 1–xv. 13 shows that the hyper-scrupulous party were (a) vegetarians, and (b) sabbatarians in some sense, though it is the former point which is important. Vegetarianism had religious sanctions in contemporary paganism, but Dr. Rauer refuses to see in the "weak" at Rome any ascetics of a neo-pythagorean nature or of a gnostic dualistic tendency; he thinks they had been "pagan gnostics before they became Christians," and that they carried on their inherited prejudices, perhaps encouraged in this by an eschatological fervour. This is possible enough. But the "observing of days" rather points to Jewish Christians, though Dr. Rauer plausibly suggests that these "weaker" brethren observed not the lucky and unlucky days of the month but special days for fasting as a religious obligation. The probability is that the "weak" were recruited from both Jewish and Gentile Christians. We have hardly enough evidence to identify them with one or the other exclusively. Dr. Rauer, however, has written an elaborate exegetical essay, rich in references to the literature of the subject; the only really important work he has overlooked is Kirsopp Lake's *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul.* He concludes by pointing out that Paul's skilful and noble handling of the question appears to have been final; at any rate we never hear of it rising again in the primitive Christian literature. Still, scruples are always with us. They spring up wherever Christianity is vital and uninstructed. And to read an essay like this leaves one with a profounder impression than ever of the greatness of mind displayed by Paul in handling the whole subject as it came before him. Dr. Rauer's essay also sends us

back to Jowett's essay on Casuistry in the second volume of his edition of the Pauline epistles, one of the shortest and most profound in his illuminating pages upon the early Christian ethos.

* * * * *

The Eucharist in St. Paul. By Stuart L. Tyson, M.A. (Oxon.). New York: The Macmillan Co. 1923. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

"The first publication of the Modern Churchmen's Union," "written chiefly with a view to the problems of Anglicans," i.e. to help parochial clergymen and educated laymen to understand the meaning of 1 Corinthians xi. 17–34. Mr. Tyson, who is honorary vicar of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in New York, has written this small book to show that St. Paul was not a "sacramentalist," in the sense that for him the centre of gravity in his religion was the Eucharist, but a mystical Christian, who was everywhere conscious of Christ's real presence. The object of the Eucharist was for him to keep alive in the heart the sense of Christ's fellowship and to maintain fellowship in Him with other Christians. If it be asked how the Eucharist specially sustains and kindles the sense of a living Christ, Mr. Tyson is content to quote the late Mr. Emmet's words about the whole rite being "charged with associations of His personality. The words, the elements, the acts, carry us back directly to the supreme crisis of His life. No one can be present at the rite with a serious purpose without thinking vividly of Him. . . To think earnestly and lovingly of Him is to realise His presence." Mr. Tyson writes quietly and cogently in favour of the view that the Eucharist was not understood by Paul to be a sacrifice; the Eucharist is sacrificial only as all worship is sacrificial. He makes short work of those who argue that our Lord and the early Church used unfermented wine ("if, outside of a biological laboratory, there is such a thing"), but what does it matter? he asks. Altogether, this is a candid, persuasive statement, which ought to meet some of the main difficulties felt by those to whom Mr. Tyson appeals.

* * * * *

Réconstitution et classement des lettres de Saint Paul: in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (1923), pp. 8–34.

An essay by M. Paul-Louis Couchoud, written to prove that the Pauline epistles were written as follows:—

At Corinth, 50–51 A.D., First Thessalonians.

During the two years at Ephesus (Acts xix. 10) the Corinthian epistles (i.e. fragments, see below), and Philippians iii. 1*b*–iv.

During his imprisonment at Ephesus, when he was thrown *ad bestias* (1 Cor. xv. 32) in the arena, Philippians i.–iii. 1*a*, Colossians, and Philemon.

During his voyage from Ephesus to Macedonia, etc., Galatians and Titus iii. 12–15.

During his sojourn in Macedonia, 2 Timothy iv. 9–12, 2 Corinthians i.–ii. 13, vii. 4–ix. and 1 Corinthians xv.–xvi. 7.

During his three months at Corinth, Romans.

Some of these suggestions have been already made, and either adopted or rejected. Others are novel. M. Couchoud makes great play with the theory of broken fragments of letters and also works much with the theory of interpolation. As will be seen, he is a believer in the Ephesian imprisonment as a time during which the apostle must have written letters. Also, the whole of the authentic epistles on this scheme must have been written within four or five years, for Romans was probably written about 54–55 A.D.

The two letters which have been best preserved thus happen to be the two written to churches which Paul did not know personally when he composed them, viz. Colossians and Romans. The only passage in Romans which is doubtful is xv. 8–12. Dr. Rendel Harris had already[1] conjectured that these verses might be out of their proper place, and M. Couchoud suggests that they were a marginal note by Paul or that they originally lay after xi. 36. It is curious that he seems quite content to leave xv.–xvi. as they stand, whereas it is these chapters which present the real literary problem in Romans. In 1 Thessalonians the only transposition proposed is at iv. 11–12. "Il est facile," i.e. for M. Couchoud, to see that v. 12 f. originally followed iv. 12, and that iv. 13–v. 11 came after iii. 13. In Galatians he proposes to displace iv. 12b–20 and v. 2–12; indeed even v. 2–12 is itself disarranged, for verses 2–6 originally followed verses 7–12. After ii. 14 indeed there is a hopeless break in the epistle, for what M. Couchoud calls "la tirade mystique" has merely a superficial connexion with what precedes; the original letter probably contained i.–ii. 14, iv. 12b–20, v. 7–12, 2–6, ii. 15–iv.

[1] *Testimonies* (Part II.), pp. 28–29.

12a, iv. 21–v. 1, and v. 13 to the end. In dissecting the Corinthian epistles M. Couchoud follows on the whole Loisy, though he sensibly declines to regard 1 Corinthians xiii. as an interpolation. The first letter to Corinth was ix.–x. 22, vi. 14–20, 2 Corinthians vi. 14–vii. 1, and 1 Corinthians xi. 2–34 ; the next is 1 Corinthians v.–viii., xii.–xiv. ; the third is 1 Corinthians i.–iv., xvi. 8–24 ; then, after the visit to Corinth, when he was insulted by the factious opposition, 2 Corinthians ii. 14–vi. 13, vii. 2–4, x.–xiii.

* * * * *

Dr. Valentin Weber's pamphlet, *Gal.* 2 *und Apg.* 15 *in neuer Beleuchtung* (Würzburg : C. J. Becker), is another of his essays on the South Galatian hypothesis, to prove that the incidents narrated in Galatians ii. represent what preceded the Council of Jerusalem. When Paul (ii. 10) says that he was bidden to remember the poor, this refers to the collection described in Acts xi. 29–30. And so on. The position has been repeatedly held by Professor Weber, and as repeatedly criticised. A more important general study of St. Paul, by Dr. F. G. Peabody, will be renewed in our next issue by Dr. R. H. Strachan.

* * * * *

Can I be a Christian? By the Rev. James O. Hannay. Pp. 158. Price 5*s*. Hodder and Stoughton.

This little volume appeals to the reader by its sanity and candour, and by the high literary quality which we naturally expect to find in anything written by "George A. Birmingham." It is thrown into the form of ten letters written to a young educated layman of the Church of England who has difficulties about continuing to identify himself with the Christian Church. In the preface the author tells us that it has been written "for men and women who find themselves in sympathy with the Christian ideal of life, who regard the Lord Jesus with reverence and affection, who cherish tender memories of the religion of their childhood, who nevertheless are out of touch with the Church ; who, because they find no place in any Christian organisation, have come to think that there is no place for them and that they cannot consider themselves Christians at all. They count themselves strangers, no longer citizens of the City of God, partly because they do not, and, as they think, cannot believe many things commonly believed by Christian people ; but, chiefly because they do not recognise as divine the sort of life

which the Church, any Church, has produced and fostered." The book is "a tract for the times," and cannot well fail to be of real service to the large and ever-increasing number of serious-minded men and women for whom it has been written.

The author's starting-point has been well chosen. He begins with the ethical ideals of Jesus. Jesus, he says, "was above all others One who believed in the power of love, and recognised self-sacrifice, even Calvary, as life's greatest possibility. . . . If we believe in the greatness of love and the value of sacrifice, we hold His faith and have the right to call ourselves His disciples." Loyalty to the ideals of Jesus belongs to the essence of Christian discipleship, and its results are far-reaching and vital. "Whether I accept or reject Jesus' judgment about what makes life worth living is clearly a matter of the utmost importance, because my whole outlook and my whole conduct are determined by my belief." Loyalty to the ideals of Jesus is no easy thing; it means great demands and heroic efforts. "If there is one thing quite certain about Jesus it is this: He taught that riches and poverty do not matter; that a man's life may be great and full and splendid whether he is rich or poor, that if there is any difference it is that the scales are weighted, not in favour of, but against the rich. . . . Does it require no effort, no courage, is it nothing of an adventure to believe Jesus when He says: Wealth is not what makes life worth living; nor does poverty cut us off from the best there is. . . . The whole underlying conception of our civilisation is that riches are desirable because it is wealth alone which makes life fine or even tolerable. Is it nothing to fly straight in the face of all the wisdom and experience of the world and say: In this matter I take my stand with Jesus? Surely this is a venture of faith, if ever there was one." Faith in the ideals of Jesus is the starting point; it will lead on to fuller faith. "You do believe in the things that Jesus Christ believed in. Live in that faith and other faiths will come. Do His will."

It is perhaps in the development of this conception that the chief value of Canon Hannay's book is to be found. But in some other directions it is not quite satisfactory in meeting the difficulties of those who complain "that what they hear in church strikes them as unreal or else foolish, and often untrue." There is much that is helpful in his discussion of the resurrection

of the body, and of the miracles of Jesus and His true humanity. But there are other difficulties to meet. For example, many of the men and women whom Canon Hannay is anxious to help are convinced that the Christian Church in the course of its history has somehow in many directions lost touch with the ideals of Jesus. Canon Hannay would doubtless grant that there is too much truth in this allegation. But he does not give his readers the impression that he is acutely alive to the blame which attaches to the Church for having at various times and in various ways been disloyal to the ideals of Jesus. Too often he speaks as if "nothing else could have happened, except what did happen." Speaking of the readiness of the Church to use the world's methods, the world's powers, even the world's force, for the world's good, he confesses that Jesus refused to accept rulership of that sort, but adds: "The Church could not help herself. It never was for her at any moment a matter of choice. By the very facts of her existence and her growth she was forced to become the thing which seems to us almost anti-Christian, a kingdom and an authority of the world." Such a line of argument is not helpful for the men and women to whom it is addressed. What they desire, if their loyalty to the Church is to be won and kept, is some indication of a greater readiness of the Church to re-examine some of its accepted ideals in the light of the ideals of Jesus, and if necessary, to revise them. Another difficulty, discussed at some length by Canon Hannay —the place occupied by the Nicene Creed in public worship— is not very happily handled. On the one hand there seems to be an insufficient appreciation of the abiding worth of the Nicene Creed in its witness to what is of quite vital importance to Christianity—the conviction that for Christians God is God in Christ. On the other hand, there are two questions, pressing for an answer in these days, which are scarcely raised. In the first place, granted that it is not only the right but the duty of the Church to encourage her members to think out the significance of Christian experience, and to find the best answers to the questions which are raised in the varying intellectual environment of different ages, is it wisdom on the part of the Church to embody these answers in a creed, assent to which is to be regarded as an essential condition of Christian discipleship? In the second place, even if a confession of Christian faith is adequately

expressed by assent to theological doctrines, is a statement of theological doctrines arrived at in the intellectual environment of the fourth century to be treated as final and authoritative for all subsequent centuries ? These are questions which Canon Hannay, with his keen appreciation of the place which the acceptance of the ethical ideals of Jesus ought to hold in the confession of Christian faith, could so handle as to render further and much needed service to the men and women who are asking themselves : Can I be a Christian ?

D. M. Ross.

* * * * *

Some Aspects of Christian Belief, by H. R. Mackintosh, D.D., D.Phil. Pp. 306. Hodder and Stoughton, London. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

Tennyson, in his *In Memoriam*, refers to a certain poet as one who sang " to one clear harp in divers tones." And it may be said of this book that it speaks in divers tones and on many themes, but that there is heard in it one clear voice. This is a volume composed of papers which, written at different times throughout a period of years, are concerned with a variety of subjects belonging to the realms of philosophy, theology and history. Yet the book is distinguished by a remarkable unity. The standpoint of the writer remains unchanged throughout his many discussions ; his style bears at all times the characteristics of lucidity and grace ; his discourse displays everywhere the same qualities of competence and erudition ; he confronts every problem of religion in an attitude strongly Protestant and Evangelical, and every problem of philosophy as a critic rather than as the adherent of any particular school ; and his tone from beginning to end is that of one who combines a sympathetic spirit with the vigilant exercise of keen and alert observation. Readers, therefore, should not begin the perusal of this volume with a prejudice against it on the ground of its miscellaneous content ; for it possesses a coherence which is the more impressive that it is one of personality and outlook rather than of logical plan.

It is not, of course, within the compass of a short review to set forth the teaching of Dr. Mackintosh's separate chapters. They are all so closely knit in their reasoning, and so freighted with the harvest of much study, that the book as a whole con-

tains but little that can be quoted or that lends itself to a brief criticism. One must be content to refer the reader to such studies as that on the *Unio Mystica* (VI), on *Ritschlianism* (VII, VIII), and on *Modernism in the Church of Rome* (IX), which are all excellent examples of the author's gifts, expository and critical.

The book, however, is highly controversial in tone, and stimulates our minds to a healthful reaction. Did space permit, one might suggest that the admirable opening chapter on *History and the Gospel* gives less than their due credit to those thinkers who, in all ages, have laboured to exhibit Christianity as a system of ideas, eternally valid. Also, we might hint that the essay on *The Conception of a Finite God* is not quite convincing in its conclusions. On the other hand, no adverse comment whatever could be made upon the meditation on *Jesus Christ and Prayer*, which is a devout, penetrating and beautiful discourse, wholly satisfying alike to heart and mind. The criticism of MacLeod Campbell, however, seems hardly adequate. It is, of course, sympathetic in tone, but it perhaps does not sufficiently distinguish between the form and the substance of Campbell's argument. In this same chapter Dr. Mackintosh makes the interesting remark that " Dr. Chalmers derived real satisfaction from the memory that he had not voted for Campbell's deposition " (81). Now this is surprising, for we had not supposed that the conduct of Chalmers in this case could have been a source of satisfaction to any one. True, he expressed a private hope that the Row heretic " might be got off." But he never once, so far as we know, interfered on his behalf throughout the long course of Campbell's prosecution. One is sorry to think that this leader of the Evangelical party stood aloof in silence while that party proceeded to commit an act of bitter and blundering injustice.

The massive essay on *Absolute Idealism* which concludes this book, is the last and most sympathetic of a series of attacks upon Hegelianism, of every type, which begins with the opening paper and is continued here and there throughout this entire volume. We could have wished that the author had stated with clearness, at some point, his own metaphysical position. For many of us are unable to accept a merely negative attitude towards the neo-Hegelian dialectic, still less an attitude which regards it with suspicion as though it were the foe of historic

Christianity. We cannot do this, because we remember the names of illustrious thinkers who have been adherents of this school of thought, and also because we know that many believing people have found in the Idealist philosophy, not the enemy of faith, but a conservative and reassuring power to which they owe an exceeding debt. Yet, after all, the work of any teacher gains interest from his possession of a few robust and reasoned antipathies; and Dr. Mackintosh's antipathy toward Idealism, so frequently and forcibly expressed, certainly does nothing to lessen the attractiveness of this learned, sincere, instructive and refreshing book. J. H. Leckie.

* * * * *

The Realm of God, by L. E. Bennett, M.A., B.D. Pp. x., 314. Hodder and Stoughton, London. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

This is a difficult book to review in such a manner as not to misrepresent its character and teaching. It is enthusiastic and eloquent, well informed and candid; its ingenuous fervour is, indeed, such as almost to disarm criticism. Also, its general effect is to stimulate thought, to direct our minds into fruitful paths of meditation and to awake in us a healthy mood of hope and confidence. On the other hand, it is not very coherent; its conclusions are not definite, and it contains many seeming contradictions.

The first five chapters in the book are devoted to a study of the Kingdom of God conception, in its historical origin and in its relation to faith and to the doctrine of the Church. The remaining chapters concern themselves with the realisation of the Kingdom on earth, with its theological implications and with its fulfilment in the life everlasting. These two parts of the discussion, however, necessarily overlap each other to some extent, and things stated in the earlier chapters are sometimes repeated in the later portion of the author's exposition.

Mr. Bennett's method is to assert one side of a truth in so unqualified a way as to arouse our opposition, and subsequently to correct this by an equally partial statement on the other side. Thus, in his account of our Lord's teaching he seriously underestimates the extent to which the Saviour's idea of the Kingdom was eschatological; yet throughout the entire discussion our author certainly presents the Realm of God mainly as an ideal end towards which we hope and strive. In his study of the

Synoptic records, also, he shows no real sympathy with that type of apocalyptic mysticism which was so congenial to the mind of Jesus. He even asserts, in defiance of the records, that the Saviour "purged" the apocalyptic hope of its "spectacular features" (67): as if any one could "purge" apocalypse of "features" which belong to its essential genius. But, on a later page he says that Jesus "threw truth into glowing pictures," and that "He loved symbols" (214); which is just a way of admitting that, after all, our Lord did adhere to the material forms of apocalypse. Again, he tells us, surely with exaggeration, that "the Kingdom of God is Christ's greatest idea" (35). Afterwards, however, he implicitly corrects this by stating that "the key to the thought and feeling of Jesus is to be found in his clear, all-absorbing thought of God" (44). In a later part of his discussion Mr. Bennett asserts that during the second century the Church developed into "a great frowning political and ecclesiastical institution" (160); which is an inaccurate historical statement, and indicates a certain hostility to "institutional religion," which appears occasionally throughout the book. Yet the author recognises the necessity of the Church as an ecclesiastical "institution," and admits that it was founded by Christ (159). A similar inconsistency is found in his affirming, on the one hand, that the Kingdom is not "a Society," and insisting, on the other hand, that it requires to be "organised" (157, 223).

These, then, are some illustrations of Mr. Bennett's contradictory method of discussion. But these oppositions are due, in large degree, to the catholic and candid temper of his mind, as well as the complexity of his theme. If, further, he does not give us any detailed direction as to the practical applications of the Kingdom idea, that is because such direction is hardly possible. The Realm of God signifies the embodiment of the ideal good, for individuals and for society, and it is best left without more concrete definition. We owe gratitude to Mr. Bennett for a book which is in the highest degree stimulating, and which serves to impress us with a new sense of the glory that belongs to the Saviour's vision of a state in which God's will should be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

J. H. Leckie.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

The Library of Philosophy and Religion. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* a volume.

"Metaphysics of Life and Death." By W. Tudor Jones, M.A., Ph.D.

People's Library. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

"The Renaissance: A History of the Age and the Men." By Sidney Dark.

"Victorian Poetry." By John Drinkwater.

THESE comely, competent little volumes are sure to find their public. No book is so difficult to write as a small book on a large subject. The expert is apt to know too much to be popular, and, in having to compress his matter, he may become unintelligible to his audience. Or, a worse fault still, he may talk down to his readers. It is a real merit of these three books that their authors write both succinctly and seriously, with a fine gift of exposition. Thus Dr. Tudor Jones manages to show, in fairly untechnical language, what is implied in the spiritual evolution of the human personality, and its vast potentialities. He promises another volume on the Metaphysics of Christianity. Meanwhile this states the prolegomena. He pleads for an interpretation of the world which will "filter over a more extensive area than the covers of *Mind* or the *Transactions of the Aristotelian Society*," and he does prove that one way of progress is to get more and more people intelligently interested in the meaning of Life and the Universe. He discusses instinct and mind, and leads a proof that "there is, at the present day, in the best teaching of science, enough to carry the mind a long way towards religion," by its emphasis on the transcendental values of what man believes to be the best, and by its suggestion that what is spiritual or mental in man is "the kernel of what appears externally as material."

Mr. Dark's period, 1453–1603 A.D., is described historically, politically, then in its literature and art, its religion and its social aspect. He declares frankly that the Renaissance, for all its glories, had not only stains but defects. For example, it did little or nothing for the yeoman and tradesman. But it is a period with a glow in it, and Mr. Dark's small sketch shows the

reader where to look for the glow. The book is all the more telling on account of its artistic and scholarly restraint. If the reader goes from it to a novel like Merejowski's *The Forerunner*, he will be able to understand the mixture of good and evil which made up the surge of the Renaissance in Europe.

Mr. Drinkwater has not done as it is notorious that one recent writer on Victorian literature did, he has not ignored Matthew Arnold's poetry. He notes the magical effect of Arnold's quality, viz., " a certain sudden tempering of the diction in poetry," a certain severity, as compared with the flowing, florid style of Tennyson. This, by the way, however. The book falls into two parts ; the first considers the manner, the second the material, of Victorian poetry. It is full of good things. But we are not to be comforted for the absence of any allusion to Meredith and Hardy. Mr. Drinkwater stints us here ; Hardy he thinks post-Victorian, and Meredith only Victorian by accident. Nevertheless, the criticism throughout the book is so fresh and keen that it makes us desire all the more to have had Mr. Drinkwater's considered opinion on these poets. One plucky sentence deserves to be quoted and applauded. " It is about time for us to stop making ourselves ridiculous by talking about the great Victorians as though they were lost in a fog of superstition and prudery and moral timidity." His refusal to patronise or depreciate Tennyson is another score in his favour. Mr. Lang stopped this silly habit for a while by his life of Tennyson, but it is a folly which needs to be knocked on the head every now and then. In the next edition, correct " Job " into " Jove," on p. 181. And Sir John Suckling wrote, " Out upon it," surely, not " Out upon you " ?

* * * * *

Where the Churches Fail. By John Dare. London : Robert Scott.

This pamphlet is " a friendly criticism " by a layman, who traces the indifference of people nowadays to two sets of causes. One is that the churches have superfluous dogmas like the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection of Christ's Body, and the Atonement. With regard to the second, Mr. Dare writes that " people should not be asked to believe that, if the crucified body was re-vivified, it at the same time lost the essential qualities of matter," referring to Dr. Gore's hypothesis. The other source of alienation lies in the practical application, or misapplication, of Christ's

teaching. Here Mr. Dare repeats the arguments about the Sermon on the Mount, and presses the difficulties felt by many outsiders in relation to what the Church's attitude is to poverty and the use of force. Mr. Dare, himself, is not an extremist. For example, he cannot see anything in the Bible that forbids the use of force to check thieves and murderers. And, while he quotes with hearty approval from the Archbishops' report on Christianity and Industrial Problems—"it is the duty of Christians to urge that after the necessary charges upon industry have been met, any surplus should be applied to the benefit of the whole community, and to bear gladly such demands as the community may make upon them for that purpose"—he is careful to qualify it by saying that he does not believe "the State should intervene to seize all surplus profits with a view to applying them for the welfare of the community," adding that "it is the duty of Christian teachers to address themselves, as Christ addressed Himself, to individuals, rather than to lay down policies for the State." The tone and spirit of the pamphlet are excellent; Mr. Dare neither scolds nor screeches. His penetrating advocacy of what is called "promiscuous charity" to beggars, for example, would equip anyone who desired to preach on Matthew vi. 42, "Give to him that asketh thee."

* * * * *

The Anglican Evangelical Group Movement. Hodder and Stoughton: Price 3*d.* each.

The Person of Jesus Christ. By V. F. Storr, M.A.
The Church and the New Testament. By G. H. Harris, M.A.
The Church in History. By L. Elliott Binns, B.D.
The Church of England. By F. W. Head, M.A., M.C.
Liberal Evangelicalism. By T. Guy Rogers, B.D., M.C.
Prayer Book Revision. By H. L. C. V. de Candole, M.A.
Evangelicals and the Green Book. By H. Montague Dale, B.D.
Evangelicals and the Grey Book. By R. T. Howard, M.A.
Reservation. By V. F. Storr, M.A.

These small pamphlets are admirally adapted to meet the end in view. The common spirit of the writers is that of Anglican Evangelicalism, which is in no sense partisan; they write with conviction, but their arguments are positive rather than negative. Their definition of "Evangelical" is a primary interest in spiritual religion, a sense of freedom, and a reliance on the Gospel

rather than on tradition. In the present circumstances of the English Church, it is inevitable that their arguments will seem to some obvious, to others anathema. We should merely wish to commend these brief tracts for the times, and incidentally to point out how those on the prayer-book revision and the Sacrament of the Eucharist are re-inforced by a recent pamphlet from one in a very different theological position, Mr. Francis C. Eeles. In his *Prayer-book Revision and Christian Reunion* (Cambridge University Press), writing as a trained scholar in liturgical procedure and disavowing heartily anything like narrow Protestantism, he shows how a section of the Anglo-Catholics are uncritically rushing after Roman innovations instead of preserving the true and older " Catholic " rites. " This Roman appeal has grown up from small beginnings in ceremonial till it now covers nearly everything and threatens to divide what was once the High Church party." Both Mr. Eeles and Canon Storr agree in commending warmly Mr. D. L. Murray's Alcuin Club tract on *Reservation.*

* * * * *

Ministerial Commission. By the Rev. C. Sydney Carter, M.A. With a foreword by the Bishop of Truro. Longmans, Green and Co. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Carter enters a thorny field when he proposes to examine historically the working of the official ministry in the Church. The four chapters describe the evidence from (1), the New Testament, (2), the Early Church, (3), the Reformed Churches, and (4), the modern situation. Mr. Carter differs from Dr. Gore. He believes that in the main " the organisation and official ministry of the Church were later developments," and that the Apostolic Church did not know any distinction between layman and priest ; he agrees with Hort and Gwatkin that the apostles received no formal authority from Christ to rule the Church or to administer sacraments. In short, no particular form of commission has any monopoly of grace or the Spirit. Mr. Carter reiterates in a clear and quiet manner the conclusion that the hypothesis of apostolic succession is neither primitive nor rational, and that it is the adoption of this notion, together with the unfortunate Anglican emphasis on Episcopacy in 1662, which may be held responsible for the present severance between the Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Churches. The book is written in an irenical and

unprejudiced spirit. Mr. Carter does not notice Sohm's views, in his first chapter. But he is familiar with the English literature on the subject, and he has summarised well the outstanding facts in dispute.

* * * * *

Christian Science Expounded and Exposed. By J. Moffat Logan. London: The Kingsgate Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*

One is often asked for a small, competent book of this kind, and Mr. Logan's is exactly what is wanted. It is a reprint of addresses delivered at Accrington. Each was followed by an open debate. Indeed, so well did Mr. Logan prove his armour that he routed the Christian Science agent who attacked him in the press. "Then," he adds, "one of the shining lights from Boston—Mr. Braithwaite by name—came and lectured in the Accrington Town Hall; but, when invited to discuss with me the main points at issue between us, he saw it to be his duty to decline." We do not wonder. It is not often that controversial argument is so effectively put as in Mr. Logan's pages.

* * * * *

Intercession Services (Matlock: George Hodgkinson. 1*s.* 3*d.*), by Mr. G. H. Russell, is a much-needed effort to enrich intercessory prayer in the worship of the Churches. Dr. Jowett, who contributes a foreword, commends the book as a collection of prayers "distinguished by spiritual intelligence, breadth of vision, and large sympathies with human need." Few parts of the service, in non-liturgical churches, require more thought and receive less thought from ministers than prayers of intercession. Mr. Russell's little book ought to raise the level of worship at this point. A specimen of his work may be given. "O Lord, our Judge and our Hope, we remember those whose sin has found them out, and come home to them in sure and secret ways which no man knoweth but their own heart alone,—those who had gone with the foolish and ignored the warnings of Thy Spirit; plead Thou Thyself their cause; accept the amendment of their lives, their silent penitence, their secret pain and prayer; and bring them forth into the light and joy of Thy forgiveness."

CURRENT ISSUES.

No society is better served in the way of reports than the British and Foreign Bible Society. Its popular report for 1922–1923 is called *The Bridge Builders* (The Bible House, London), and costs only 6*d*. A cheap and good report, finely illustrated, and written with some imaginative power. The society is viewed as a bridge-builder, overcoming the divisions between races by means of the Bible. "The Great War," it has been said bitterly, "has turned bridges into chasms," and both in and beyond Europe there is an increasing need of the spirit which triumphs over prejudices of race and nationality and class. To foster this spirit is the function of the Bible Society, working under the Christian Church for the great end of reconciliation and goodwill.

* * * * *

The hindrances are not ignored in this report. A colporteur in Portugal ruefully reports that he has had to shave off his beard, because he was tired of having it pulled so frequently. Another report from India admits that "the followers of Gandhi will often forbid the people to buy the colporteur's Scriptures, and will even get hold of copies and tear them to pieces before his eyes." But there are more encouragements than discouragements. "No man," says the editor, "who has measured the tremendous chasms which divide men can indulge in rosy expectations of an imminent golden age of harmony and peace. But it is a fact of deepest significance that a common Christian conscience is actually spreading throughout the world. The Bible is becoming the common possession of the nations, a common text-book of ethics and religion the world over." He adds: "As the work of the Church extends, old conflicting ideas of the Deity are giving way to a knowledge of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and morals are being built upon the foundation of the New Testament."

* * * * *

Are they ? One would like to think so. But at any rate the Bible may be trusted to make its own deep appeal to what is deepest in the human mind. It is a varied appeal. Yet the central element in it is the impression made by the portrait of Jesus in the Gospels. The editor reminds us that "what a well-known Roman Catholic writer said of his French fellow-countrymen is in general true about other peoples of Western Europe: 'The Christ is almost unknown among them.' The Child in His Mother's arms, the terrible Judge of the Sistine Chapel, the pitiful Figure of the Crucifix, one of the numerous *Cristos* that have their place among the patron saints—yes, but not the Lord of life and thought. Him they learn to know in the pages of the New Testament. Many people, to whom the Christ of the Gospels comes with the shock of a glad surprise, would echo the sentiment expressed by a Spaniard: *Me gusta el Jesus natural, no mortificado como lo presenta el clero*' ('What delights me is the life-like Jesus, not the figure devoid of all vitality presented by the clergy')."

* * * * *

The real Jesus is never more real than in His teaching. Professor Kennedy notes, in his article in the present number, some books which make this teaching intelligible. For it needs interpretation if it is to reach and sway our modern minds. Many people are familiar with certain words of the Gospels, and yet are unable to attach very much meaning to them. If something is not done to rouse their minds, they soon proceed to assume that there is not very much meaning in the words at all. Take, for example, the Lord's Prayer. No part of the Bible is more familiar, and few more require and repay thought. Yet I am surprised to learn, from correspondents over the country, what an amount of utter misconception there is about the petitions of the Prayer. One man wrote to me, in explaining his request for information, that he had never heard a sermon on the Prayer, though for thirty years he had been a regular church-member. I hope this is not normal. But the Lord's Prayer is one of the deep, simple passages in the New Testament which evidently are not preached upon as often or as accurately as they should be. When clergymen write to ask for a note of some modern books to show them how to preach upon it, I usually refer them to books like Father Tyrrell's *Lex Credendi*

or Dr. Gore's *Prayer and the Lord's Prayer*. Now there is another for the list.

* * * * *

This is Mr. Studdert Kennedy's *The Wicket Gate, or Plain Bread* (Hodder and Stoughton, 6*s*.), the ripest book which he has written. His second title really explains the object of the eleven chapters. "We are seeking for the plain bread of religion, which a man must have in order to live; and we could not seek for it in a better place than in the Lord's Prayer. If the essence of Christianity is what all men, at all times and everywhere, have accepted as its sum and centre, the great Prayer would stand the test better than the great Creeds, firmly as I believe that the Creeds are implicit in the Prayer." It is with this purpose that Mr. Kennedy prints these eleven chapters of exposition. Slices of Plain Bread they might be called. He serves them up attractively. What makes the book valuable is the evident thought which lies behind it. Some books on the Lord's Prayer are weak and pious; others are arid and critical; others again are too rhetorical. Mr. Kennedy knows that the Prayer is unintelligible except to experience, but he also realises that it involves great dogmas, and his pages contain an admirable blend of dogmatic and practical Christianity.

* * * * *

Mr. Kennedy's sub-title and some stories in the Bible Society's report about the effect of stray pages of the Bible upon individual lives, remind us of a story told by the Sadhu Sundar Singh. A man in the Central Provinces of India, who hated Christianity, one day opened a copy of St. John's Gospel when he was travelling in the train. In anger he tore it up and flung the pieces out of the window of the compartment. It happened that a plain seeker after truth was walking at that very moment along the railway line, a Hindu who for some years had been, like Justin Martyn before his conversion, trying to find the truth about life. This man picked up the torn pieces of paper. On one he saw the words, "everlasting life." On another, "the Bread of Life." Puzzled by these phrases he showed the bits of paper to a friend, who warned him not to read the papers; if he did he would be defiled. However, the man bought a copy of the New Testament for himself, and eventually became a Christian evangelist. "Really," as the Sadhu remarked, "the

torn pieces of St. John's Gospel proved to be a piece of the living Bread—the Bread of Life." Now, as Mr. Kennedy says, if anyone does not obtain the plain bread of life in his book, he may at least be helped upon the way to where it can be found. The best result of reading any book about the Lord's Prayer is to be sent back to Him who spoke the Prayer. And sometimes, by accident or coincidence or by any of the terms for what is really Providence, the New Testament becomes living bread for people in out-of-the-way quarters.

THE TEN BEST BOOKS ON THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

The field covered by our subject is an immense one, and it may be advisable at the outset to remind readers of the distinction between a treatment of minute details and the handling of fundamental principles. Of course, the one will often merge into the other, and it will sometimes be difficult clearly to separate them.

I place first in my list a book which has stood the test of a long life-history, the late Professor A. B. Bruce's *Training of the Twelve* (T. and T. Clark). It does not, indeed, profess to describe the Teaching of Jesus in the strict sense, but all students of the Gospels know that there is comparatively little in that Teaching which does not bear on the Training of the disciples. So the book, from its own point of view, includes a very wide range of material. It is true that an insufficient place is assigned to the transformation wrought by Jesus in the conception of *God*. And, curiously enough, the excellent paragraphs which do occur on the subject are found in a section dealing with the Fourth Gospel. But the book as a whole is epoch-making. The author is alive to the spring-like freshness of the Synoptic Gospels. The impression they have created on his mind has imparted what one may almost call a romantic flavour to his treatment. Its

unconventionality is a continual rebuff to the conventional attitude which our minds take up, through sheer familiarity, towards the Teaching of Jesus. The wonder of it appeals to us through Dr. Bruce's interpretation. We waken up to realise aspects of it we have never seen before. One can scarcely imagine a careful reader of the book being able to resist its constant suggestiveness. To catch the spirit of the author is to enter into genuine sympathy with the mind of Jesus. And this is of far greater value than to discover what the Master taught in detail on subordinate points of religion or morals.

We would mention next the little volume entitled *The Theology of the Gospels* (Duckworth), by Professor Moffatt. Dr. Moffatt modestly says in his preface that the book is "no more than a group of studies." But they are studies of precisely those elements in the Teaching of Jesus which claim our attention. And we are supplied with an admirable handling of the very topics which we miss in Bruce, such as "The Eschatology of the Gospels" and "The God of Jesus." The volume, indeed, demands very careful reading, as it is extremely condensed. But we are convinced that the more patiently it is studied, the more conspicuously will its value appear.

At this point we would name Wendt's well-known work on "The Teaching of Jesus." This we are fortunate to possess in a very competent translation (T. & T. Clark). The book is planned and carried out on a large scale. It covers the ground with laborious thoroughness. Some readers may find it heavy, but as a whole it is well-balanced and instructive. It is a good and full representation of Jesus' Teaching, lacking, no doubt, the fresh penetration of Bruce, but a faithful piece of work.

Generally speaking, to the same category belong the four sections on the Teaching of Jesus, which the author designates

"The Religion of Jesus," in Weinel's masterly *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen, Mohr), as yet untranslated. Weinel has the advantage over Wendt of a lighter and more forcible style. He makes his points in much briefer paragraphs, writing with arresting conciseness. The book, moreover, interweaves criticism of the text of the Gospels throughout, indicating what, in Weinel's judgment, are trustworthy traditions, in contrast with those which are more doubtful. Thus, a thoroughly scientific basis is laid for the setting-forth of the Master's Teaching. And no relevant aspect is ignored.

Far more in line with Bruce's *Training of the Twelve* is another characteristically personal impression of the subject, Dr. Glover's *Jesus of History* (S. C. M.). I need hardly remark that the book has a much wider scope than our Lord's Teaching. But the presentation of the Teaching is particularly fascinating. Dr. Glover has the power which Professor Bruce possessed of communicating the unique charm of the religious impression made upon his mind by the words of Jesus to the sympathetic reader, and he has thrown himself with such intensity into the whole situation that one is thrilled by his experience and moved to make it one's own. But, besides giving a vivid form to the treatment, Dr. Glover is also a patient exegete, and his exposition is generally far-reaching and profound.

One is bound to mention a small, unassuming volume, *Our Lord's Teaching*, by Rev. James Robertson, D.D. (Guild Text-books, Edinburgh). Unequalled in its simplicity and lucidity, the book deals most competently with the chief aspects of the Teaching of Jesus, and may be confidently recommended to a painstaking Bible-class teacher.

I should like next to notice a book which treats an aspect of Jesus' Teaching that is increasingly inviting attention,

The Social Teaching of Jesus (London: Macmillan & Co.), by Professor Shailer Mathews. The book is compact and yet comprehensive. The author is a most careful scholar. And so there is an absence of those exaggerations which are common in works of this kind. Professor Mathews does not attempt to modernise Jesus. He fully realises the difference between His environment and ours. At the same time he does justice to those principles in Jesus' Teaching which have a bearing on subsequent developments.

Finally, of real value for the study of the Teaching of Jesus is Professor Votaw's excellent article on the "Sermon on the Mount," in the extra volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (T. and T. Clark). It contains much that is important on the content of the Sermon, but the reason why I call special attention to it is the masterly picture which it gives of the background of the thought.

There is probably no criterion of such value for testing any treatment of the Teaching of Jesus as the manner in which His Teaching about God has been dealt with. To realise, for example, the conception of God which Paul reached in the light of Jesus' Teaching is to enter on a new stage of religious experience. Hence, I regard the Epistle to the Galatians as a consummate disclosure of the very essence of Jesus' most important Teaching.

H. A. A. Kennedy.

THE TEXT OF HOSEA.

With such scenes before his eyes and such prospects for the future, the prophet could hardly fail to observe the contrast presented by the kingdom of Judah, where the dynasty founded by David had gone on in calm succession, unbroken by military adventurers or rebels, a continuous divinely-appointed source of strength to the little kingdom.

The prophetic activity of Hosea seems to have extended from late in the reign of Jeroboam II. till after the period when Menahem became tributary to Assyria, from circ. 750 to circ. 735.[1] It must have terminated before the Assyrians conquered Gilead in 734 (2 Kings xv. 29), for in Hosea's time Gilead belonged to Israel (Hosea v. 1, vi. 8, xii. 11). During this period of confusion and change the long and successful reign of Azariah-Uzziah in Judah (792–740) with Jotham as co-regent in the later years,[2] and the equally successful reign of Jotham (740–734) were a silent testimony to the stability of the Davidic house. The prophet could not help drawing comparisons between the conditions prevailing in the two kingdoms and casting a wistful glance on Judah and its royal house[3] as contrasted with the rabble of murderers who had ruined the kingdom of Israel.

3. The prophet could hardly have made a similar reflection in regard to the religious and moral condition of Judah, for it was very much the same as that of Israel. It is true that in the temple at Jerusalem there was, as far as we know, no image worship. The calf-worship of Dan and Bethel was unknown there, but this seems to have been the only respect in which we can confidently assert a superiority in Judah. The statutes of Omri were kept there and all the works of the house of Ahab (Micah vi. 16). From the time of Rehoboam there had existed the *High Places* in great numbers with the nameless horrors of the *qadeshim* (1 Kings xiv. 23, 24). The practices which Hosea denounced with so much feeling (ii. 13, iv. 11–15, vi. 8–10, viii. 9–13, x. 1–2, xiii. 1–2) would also prevail in the High Places of Judah. The mother of Asa was degraded from her rank for setting up a horrible obscene idol (1 Kings xv. 12, 13).[4] Asa

[1] Nowack, *Comm.*, p. 5. The inscription Hosea i. 1 cannot be depended upon.

[2] See Kittel, *Gesch.*, 2nd ed., II, pp. 466, 470, *n.* 7. [3] *Ib.*, p. 463.

[4] See Burney, *Notes on Kings*, p. 197.

removed for the time being the worst abuses from the High Places, but was quite unable to stop the worship there, and no doubt the idols would soon come back when his pressure ceased. These sanctuaries continued unchecked until the time of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 3). The brazen serpent was worshipped in Jerusalem till long after the time of Hosea (2 Kings xviii. 4). The kingdom of Judah was full of idols of gold and silver (Isa. ii. 8, 18, 20; xxx. 22; Micah v. 13). Nor does the moral state of Judah seem to have been very much better than that of Israel. The poor were robbed and oppressed and deprived of justice (Isa. v. 8, 18; x. 1, 2; Micah ii. 1, 2). The drunken orgies and luxury of the haughty nobles of Samaria (Amos vi. 5, 6; Hosea iv. 11; vii. 5) had their parallel in Jerusalem (Isa. v. 12; xxviii. 7, 8; Micah ii. 11). Murder was not uncommon in either country (Hosea iv. 2; vi. 8; Isa. i. 16; Micah vii. 2). Sacrifices were numerous and festal days were kept in abundance in both kingdoms (Hosea ii. 11; v. 6; xii. 11; Isa. i. 12; Micah vi. 6), but they did not lead to good living. Afflicted as Hosea was by the moral degradation of his own nation, and appalled as he was by the prospect of national ruin which he saw impending over it, he could hardly fail at times to turn his thoughts to the sister kingdom and to reflect that since similar sins prevailed there similar judgments were to be feared. No thoughtful man—especially a man of such sensibility as Hosea—could fail sometimes to make such reflections, although they might not form the main theme of his thoughts.

4. It is instructive to note that no other prophet of this period restricted himself to the doings of one only of the two kingdoms, without casting some side glances on the other. *Amos*, despite his origin in Judah, became in every sense a prophet of Israel. But he does not fail to denounce the kingdom of Judah for despising the law of Jahveh and

not keeping his commandments, and he threatens Jerusalem with punishment (Amos ii. 5). He touches on the false security of Zion (Amos vi. 1), and his hopes for the future are based upon the house of David (Amos ix. 11). *Isaiah* was a Judean living in the metropolis, deeply connected with the politics of his country and absorbed by her fortunes. Yet he not only alludes incidentally to the future fate of Ephraim (Isa. vii. 8, xvii. 3), but he later devotes a special section to the same topic (Isa. xxviii. 1–4). *Micah* thinks of the two kingdoms together: "What is the transgression of Jacob—is it not Samaria? And what are the high places of Judah—are they not Jerusalem?" And he goes on to predict the ruin of Samaria (Micah i. 5, 7). So when he thinks of the restoration of Judah it includes the remnant of Israel (Micah ii. 12). In all three prophets such allusions are not the main substance of their message. They are incidental and secondary, but they are there. It would certainly be a fact to cause surprise if Hosea alone of contemporary prophets should appear to be totally indifferent to the fate of Judah; while these three other prophets, whether Northern or Southern, could not refrain from displaying a sympathetic interest in the sins and in the fate of the sister kingdom.

5. It is important when considering the thoughts and utterances of Hosea not to overlook the effect which must have been produced upon him by the career of *Amos*. Not only Amos' condemnation of the idolatries and sins of Israel, but the tremendous scene at Bethel when he defied King and High Priest and was banished from the country (Amos vii. 9–17) must have made a great impression throughout Israel. Hosea must have heard of these things, and we shall not be surprised to find that the words of Amos occasionally give colour to his discourses. Amos was a new phenomenon in the life of Israel. He not only uttered

prophetic discourses, he also perpetuated them in writing.[1] We need not speculate as to whether Hosea had access to this written record. It is certain that in some form or other the words of the earlier prophet were known to him.

Hosea iv. 15: "Go not to Gilgal, and do not go up to Beth-Aven, and do not swear [in Beersheba[2]], as Jahveh liveth," is all taken from Amos iv. 4, v. 4, viii. 14—not as a complete quotation of any of the three places, but as reminiscences of all combined in the prophet's memory.

The remarkable phrase twice used by Hosea (v. 5, vii. 10), "the pride (גְּאוֹן) of Israel," is taken from Amos viii. 7, "the pride (same word) of Jacob."

Hosea viii. 14*b*: "I will send fire in his cities, and it shall devour the palaces thereof," is found with slight variations seven times, Amos i. 4–ii. 5.

Hosea x. 5, 8: "The calves of Beth-Aven," "the high places of Aven," recall Amos i. 5, v. 5 (בקעת־און. ביתאל יהיה לאון).

Hosea xi. 10: "He will roar as a lion" is reminiscent of Amos i. 2, iii. 8, and

The hope of a restoration of Israel "under David their king" (Hosea iii. 5) recalls Amos ix. 11.

These phenomena are just what might have been expected. Hosea was a man of powerful individuality. His thoughts were his own and his style is very peculiar. Such a man is not likely to make direct quotations from any source. But all probabilities suggest that he was profoundly impressed by the terrible discourses of Amos. He had heard the voice of Jahveh: "I have hewed them by the prophets,

[1] It is not quite correct to speak of Amos as the first prophet who wrote down his discourses. Fragments of earlier written oracles are found Isaiah ii. 2–4 and Micah iv. 1–4, Isaiah xv.–xvi. 13 (Ewald, *Propheten*, E.T., i. 60): but he is the first of whom we have a completed book of oracles.

[2] The balance of the phrase seems to require this insertion. See v. Orelli, *Comm. ad loc.*; Wellhausen, p. 112.

I have slain them by the words of my mouth " (Hosea vi. 5, comp. xii. 11). And although the senseless people said, " The prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad " (Hosea ix. 7), he himself would feel hewn and slain by these oracles of woe. Striking phrases out of them would remain in his mind and appear at times in his writings; and it is not without significance that the phrase which approaches most nearly to a direct quotation is from Amos' denunciation of *Judah* (Hosea viii. 14, Amos ii. 5). This view of the casual allusive use by Hosea of phrases of his senior contemporary which remained in his memory explains the facts far better than the hypothesis of "editors" who cannot be thought of as using Amos in such a way.

6. It is very material to our subject to consider a peculiar feature of Hosea's style remarked long ago by Jerome,[1] who observed that he " spoke by sentences." It is pointed out by Nowack that, especially in chapters iv.–xiv., fragments of discourses are often put together which originally had manifestly no connexion with one another.[2] Examples are: v. 11; vi. 5; vii. 3, 8; viii. 12; ix. 7, 10, 15, 17; x. 4, 7; xi. 7; xii. 8, 12; xiii. 14. In many other places this want of connexion is very marked. Now, it is apparent that in an author who writes in this way the ordinary criteria for detecting glosses, marginal notes, or interpolations are almost entirely absent. That passages seem like side-glances or appear to break the connexion can be of but little weight in dealing with an author who is himself given to side-glances and breaks the connexion himself. It seems almost lost labour to seek to detect interpolations in a book where so many undisputed passages have all the features which might mark intrusive glosses in another author. It

[1] " Osee commaticus est et quasi per sententias loquens," *Opp. ed. Vallarsi*, ix., p. 1008.

[2] Nowack, *Comm.*, p. 11. We have added a few to his examples.

would not be scientific to strike out of the text in the interests of a theory any particular group of passages without remembering that many other passages not covered by the theory might be liable to be removed from the text by the application of just the same principles.

7. The possibility must not be overlooked that some passages in Hosea have by some means become *displaced* from their original positions. This fact of displacement meets us from time to time in the Old Testament; e.g. the LXX of Jeremiah offers evidence of extensive dislocation. Nowack was of opinion that displacements in Hosea led to the conclusion that the book had been put together by someone other than the prophet. It is, however, simpler to attribute them to physical accidents happening to the MS. of the book.[1] The prophet wrote in troublous times, and, assuming that his work was completed in 734, it was followed after only twelve years by the fall of Samaria and by national ruin. Probably of the few copies in existence in 722 only one was saved, which, in a state of mutilation caused perhaps in the sack of Samaria, came to Jerusalem and was there edited.[2] It is easy to understand that in putting together the torn fragments of such a MS. some of them might find a place which was not that which the author had meant them to occupy.

If these considerations are duly weighed there will be no difficulty in assenting to the opinion expressed by Harper:[3] "We cannot agree with Marti that Hosea never in a single case referred to Judah. One can scarcely consider the possibility of such a thing."

W. W. Cannon.

(To be continued.)

[1] It is possible that the book was written on a roll of papyrus, χαρτίον βίβλιον, Jer. xxxvi. 1 (LXX., xliii. 1). See Benzinger *Archäologie*, p. 290.

[2] Kittel, *Gesch.*, ii, 460.

[3] *Int. Crit. Comm.*, "Hosea," clix.

ECCLESIASTES VIII. 10, AND INCIDENTALLY PARTS OF VI. 3 AND VIII. 9.

WHAT is one to do with a verse like Qoheleth viii. 10? The only two possible renderings that have so far been proposed of the Masoretic text as it stands may safely be described as mere counsels of despair, and the serious efforts at explaining the meanings thereof are so many additional counsels of despair.

Let us take the Authorised Version first:—

"And I saw the wicked buried, who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the city where they had so done. This also is vanity."

Some special remarks on the inadmissibility of the detail referring to the burial of the wicked will be made presently; and, apart from the unlikelihood of the Hebrew word concerned bearing the meaning of "gone" (also to be specially considered later in this paper), what is the sense of "who had come and gone from the place of the holy"? What was it, furthermore, that they had done?

The Revisers, realising—as one may suppose—the meaninglessness of the earlier version, adopted (with Symmachus, Vulgate, etc.) for the text the rendering "right" for כֵּן (otherwise translated "thus"); they have:—

"And withal I saw the wicked buried, and they came *to the grave*; and they that had done right went away from the holy place, and were forgotten in the city: this also is vanity."

Some of the objections to the renderings of the Authorised Version also apply to the Revised translation; and, in addition, what is one to make of "and they came *to the grave*" (the words in italics, which are meant as an explanation, being in reality nothing but a very fair instance of

"lucus a non lucendo")? Nor can it be maintained that the translation of כֵּן by the term "right" is sufficiently natural in this passage or in agreement with one's general impression of the diction of Qoheleth, and with this objection the idea that two different classes of persons are spoken of in this verse falls deservedly to pieces.

With such gropings in the dark as are represented by our two English versions in general use and the earlier authorities on which they more or less rely must be compared the renderings so far based on proposed emendations of the text. Before criticising these, however, it must first of all be admitted that, just as the Rabbis of old sometimes felt themselves compelled to exclaim: "this verse says: interpret me" (or "make a Midrash of me"), so are we right in insisting on it that a verse like this cries aloud for emendation. It is, indeed, true that the greatest possible circumspection is required before resorting to alterations of the received text. A very wholesome antidote to over-readiness in proceedings of this kind has quite recently been provided by Prof. W. Emery Barnes in his article entitled, "The Mischief of Metrical Theory" (Expositor for Sept., 1923); and it may, in the present writer's view, be confidently asserted that many emendations proposed in the last thirty years or so have only succeeded in substituting Schoolroom Hebrew for good old idiomatic Hebrew. But it is, on the other hand, true that there are cases where the text as it stands is quite impossible, and where either the ancient versions or reasonable new suggestions may help to find the true reading of a passage, and consequently to discover the right meaning of the same. Each case must, of course, be judged on its own merits, and, besides sufficient knowledge of the subject, illuminated by the requisite amount of critical insight, common sense (which is the reverse of artificiality) and the context of a difficult

verse or phrase should prove reliable and most helpful guides.

Preliminarily, again, to a criticism of the various emendations hitherto proposed, it seems convenient to direct full attention to the explanation in vogue of the clause: "And thus I saw the wicked buried." Starting from the clause commonly rendered: "and moreover that he have no burial" (vi. 3) as apparently containing the leading idea that the absence of burial rites is greatly dishonouring to the dead, the inference is drawn that in the verse before us the performance of burial rites indicates the bestowal of honour upon the departed wicked persons; and one commentator after another is found elaborating the same idea in his exposition of the verse. But what if all this is one huge mistake shared by many writers? It may be admitted that a connexion between the clause in vi. 3 referred to and the opening statement of viii. 10 seems at first sight quite natural; but a closer consideration reveals the fact that the word קְבוּרָה in vi. 3 does not really mean "burial," but "grave" or "sepulchre." As a matter of fact, to only three instances of the fourteen occurrences of the word קְבוּרָה is in the Oxford Hebrew and English Lexicon assigned the sense of "burial," whilst in the eleven other cases the rendering is "grave" or "sepulchre"; and the suggestion now made is that in Qoheleth vi. 3, which is one of the three instances referred to, the word also means "sepulchre" instead of "burial."

Let us, for the sake of clearing our minds about it, look at the entire verse in which the clause in question occurs. Is it likely that the man who begat a hundred children, and lived many years, though whose temperament was such that his soul was never satisfied with the good that he had, would receive no burial of any kind? Would—to put it on as low a consideration as you please—the wealth that he

left behind him fail to secure for him the most ordinary funeral rites practised among his people? Is it not far more natural to think that—unlike Joseph of Arimathea, to name but one instance among the Israelitish people themselves (see St. Matt. xxvii. 60 and parallel passages)—the man was so absorbed in vainly trying to get satisfaction out of the pleasures of life in order "to fill his soul with good," that it never occurred to him to prepare for himself a sepulchre where his pleasure-loving body should finally cease from aching for something fresh? This surely is the right explanation of the clause containing the word קְבוּרָה, which accordingly must mean "sepulchre" instead of "burial."

It is, indeed, devoutly to be hoped that no connexion between the two verses will in future be admitted by any critical writer; and it is, even apart from what has already been said, almost marvellous that any eminent student of the past should have failed to suspect the genuineness of a reference to absence of burial in viii. verse 10.

To make Qoheleth say that he had seen wicked men buried, would imply the assertion that in the normal order of things wicked people would not be granted burial among the Israelites in those days [1]; but if so, what becomes of the injunction given in Deuteronomy xxi. 23 that even the body of a criminal who had suffered the extreme penalty "shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt

[1] It would be different if Qoheleth had said: "I have seen wicked men buried in a particularly honourable manner"; but the received text only makes him say "buried," and nothing more. Plumtre's comment upon the word "buried" is that "it implies a public and stately ceremonial"; but to the question "Does it?" the answer must be "Decidedly not." Barton's note: "i.e. passed away in honour," must clearly share the same criticism. What these writers do show is that they are aware of the difficulty implied by the inference drawn in the body of the article; and it is, in fact, mainly in the interests of younger students that the matter is here treated at some length.

surely bury him the same day" ? It seems almost absurd to offer detailed evidence of the strict and most careful attention paid by the Jews to the duty of burying the dead (however degraded their lives had been) from the earliest times down to the present day [1]; but it may be as well to draw attention to the fact that even the body of a *felo de se* was, as a matter of religious obligation, granted prompt burial. As an instance in ancient times the burial of Ahitophel (2 Sam. xvii. 23) may be cited; and the medieval Jewish law codices, based no doubt on immemorial religious practice, ordained that at the obsequies of suicides everything should be done that implies respect for the living (relatives), though the ritual included nothing that would indicate honour to the suicide himself.

Granted, then, that Qoheleth could not possibly have said: "I have seen the wicked buried," it now remains to consider the attempts at a solution of the problems offered by the verse before us by means of emendations which include the substitution of an entirely different word for קְבֻרִים "buried." Students who may still be interested in schemes of altering the text which leave the word for "buried" where it stands, will find what they want in some of the older commentaries, to which they may add the emendations proposed by McNeile, Barton, and any others there might be. But for purposes of the present paper there are only two sufficiently radical efforts made in the desired direction to be dealt with, namely those of Grätz and Bickell.

In conformity with a Midrashic suggestion, Grätz adopts the reading קְבוּצִים, "assembled" or "trouped together," in place of the word meaning "buried," and יִתְהַלְלוּ "they

[1] A mere glance at such articles as "Burial" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* or *The Jewish Encyclopedia* should, indeed, where needed, amply suffice.

are lauded" is substituted by him for the word to be rendered "they go about"; he omits the copula standing in the text before "from the holy place," and adopts, with the LXX, etc., the reading: "and they are praised" instead of "they are forgotten."

In his hands the verse thus becomes, giving the equivalent English for his German: "And thus have I seen wicked men trooped together, and[1] they came from the holy place; lauded and praised in the city where they did so, etc."

Linguistically, the objection might be made that the form קְבוּצִים would imply a reference to a person or persons who assembled the wicked people together, and that the more violent emendation נִקְבָּצִים would be required to express the idea of "trooped together" (*zusammengerottet*) pure and simple. But the main argument against this reconstruction of the verse is its lameness and unintelligibility. Were they lauded and praised because they came in troops from the holy place? If so, what was the point of their coming in troops from the holy place, and what was the exact reason for their being lauded and praised for doing so? In what city, furthermore, were they lauded and praised? Was that city "the holy place" or the township to which they had migrated from the holy place? Also, what had they done besides coming away in troops from the place designated as holy?

Anyhow, even if the difficulties named should not be considered insurmountable, it would still remain to be considered whether the fresh reading (and consequently rendering) to be proposed presently is preferable to the emendations proposed by Grätz in 1871.

Now for Bickell's attempt at discovering the true reading of the verse, made in 1884. The present writer has before

[1] Grätz omits "and" in his translation, though retaining the conjunction in the text.

him Cheyne's reproduction (*Job and Solomon*, pp. 220, 276) of Bickell's reading, which is no doubt as reliable as the original from which he worked, though the student will discover quickly enough the misprint that has crept in on p. 276.

Bickell substitutes כְּבֵדִים, rendered "honoured," for the word "buried"; he omits וַיָּבֹאוּ (and they came), and reads "*in* the holy place" instead of "from the holy place," and וַיֵּהָלְכוּ, rendered "had to depart," takes the place of the verb as it stands in the Masoretic text. We thus obtain the reading:—

"And in accordance with this have I seen ungodly men honoured, and that too in the holy place (i.e. the Temple; comp. Isa. xviii. 7); but those who had acted rightly had to depart and were forgotten in the city, etc."

Some demur might be made to the use of כְּבֵדִים in the sense of "being honoured," though it cannot be declared inadmissible for the participle being so employed. In the only three places in the Old Testament (Job xiv. 21, Ezek. xxvii. 75, Isa. lxvi. 5), however, where the verb in the Qal has that meaning, the imperfect is used, and there is apparently no trace of any such form of the verb in that sense in later Hebrew. Having probably felt this difficulty, Bickell suggested נִכְבָּדִים as an alternative emendation, but the alteration from the Masoretic reading would in that case be further removed from its consonantal text.

It must also be considered that the supposition of the Pi'el of הלך being used to express the idea of departing from a place rests entirely on an assumed interpretation of the passage before us, there being no other instance of such a use either in the Old Testament or, as it seems, in later Hebrew.

But apart from the linguistic question, what is the meaning of "And in accordance with this"? In accordance

with what? Nor will, one may confidently affirm, the distribution of the verse over two different classes of persons, the wicked and the righteous, commend itself to as wide a circle of students as the interpretation which refers the whole of it to one class, the wicked.

In any case, again, it seems right to invite the investigator to a careful consideration of the fresh suggestion now to be made, and then to decide which of the different readings lying before him appears to offer the probably correct solution of the problem.

The proposal now is to make—besides adopting (with the LXX, etc.) the reading: "and they are praised" instead of "and they are forgotten"—the following two comparatively slight alterations in the received text:—instead of the word for "buried," one obtains by changing ק into כ (a likely variation in taking down a passage from dictation) כְּבָרִים, "like the pure (or clean) ones; and, furthermore, read (like Bickell) "and *in* the holy place" instead of "from the holy place."

The following reading is in this way secured:—"And thus have I seen wicked men (making themselves look) like pure (or clean) ones, and they arrived and freely walked about in the holy place, and they were praised [1] in the city because they had done so; also this is vapour."

It is, in fact, a case of the devil parading as saint which Qoheleth here places before us. Having practised their wickedness in one or more places previously, and probably thereby amassed a fortune to make it easy for them to adopt another method of personal prominence, they migrated and "arrived" at a sacred city (or, the sacred city, Jerusalem), and there, professing a life of public benevolence and personal sainthood, they acquired the right to walk freely about in the holy place. High praise was, as a consequence,

[1] Or, in the reflexive sense, "and they boasted (about it) in the city, etc."

their portion in the city of their new residence (or, not realising that true saints do not boast, went about boasting about their latest course of life); but, adds Qoheleth, "this also is vapour."

In connexion with this emended reading and exposition of it, one may add—though rather diffidently—a suggestion on the interpretation of the last clause of viii. 9, as the little phrase "and thus" seems to link verse 10 with what immediately precedes. The proposal is to take the words "to his own hurt" ("at a time when one man ruled over another") to refer to the ruling man, and to explain it as meaning that the essentially wicked man sometimes finds it good policy to rule to his own injury, in the sense of detriment or loss. The connexion with verse 10 would thus be quite clear. The devil turned saint adopts saintly methods and allows himself in his rule over others to suffer personal injury in order to acquire the reputation of goodness which he is now bent on gaining. For a reference to early authorities also translating "to his own hurt," though in a different sense, see Ginsburg's Commentary, p. 398.

But even if the exposition of לְרַע לוֹ thus ventured upon be not favourably received, one may still urge the careful consideration of what has been said on verse 10. The transition from one passage to another in Qoheleth is often a very loose one, possibly (or probably) owing to the editor who put the different sayings together from the writings of Qoheleth that lay before him, so that no great insistence should probably be placed on the little word וּבְכֵן at the beginning of verse 10.

G. Margoliouth.

REBIRTH OR IMMORTALITY.[1]

THERE can be few aspects of the Christian doctrine of immortality which have not been discussed and defended by previous lecturers on the Drew foundation. But the Christian doctrine of immortality is not the only solution offered of the problem of the life to come. There is another solution: the doctrine of transmigration and rebirth. It is a doctrine which has not lacked admirers in modern Europe. Goethe used it to explain the attraction he felt in one of the ladies whom he loved. In some previous existence she had surely been his wife. Thinkers like David Hume and Schopenhauer have spoken of this doctrine of rebirth as the only form of belief in an after-life worthy of a philosopher's attention, whilst, in our own days, a philosopher so eminent as Dr. McTaggart speaks of the possibility of rebirth in words of almost lyric beauty. But in the West the doctrine has an exotic air. It is an ingenious surmise, a great perhaps. It expresses the speculation of the few; it is not the conviction of the masses of the people. Only in the East is it a life-axiom, and my excuse for venturing to speak on it is, that for some years I lived in almost daily contact with men to whom it was the logical *prius* of all their thought and the sure explanation of life's tragedies and inequalities.

I.

The origin of this doctrine of transmigration and *karma* is still obscure. It is altogether alien from the simple piety of the *Ṛigveda*. There life was prized, and men prayed that they might "live a hundred lengthened

[1] A lecture given on the Drew Foundation, Hackney College, October, 1923.

autumns,"[1] and trusted that, when at last death came, they might enjoy in the world to come a life, like that on earth, but more rich and joyous. Even in the dreary period of the *Brāhmaṇas* it was still life, not death, men sought, and by now there was the fear of death, not in this life alone, but in the life to come. And with this dread of future death, we find traces of a hope of future birth which might lead again to life on earth, for rebirth is as yet regarded, not as curse, but boon.[2] Already we find the beginnings of that belief in the retributive adaptation of circumstance and conduct which the doctrine of *karma* was later to express; for, in a difficult passage, it is taught that a man is born into the world which he has made.[3] But such references are few, and seem to be little more than stray surmises. First, in the *Upanishads* do we find the clear formulation of that doctrine of transmigration and of *karma* which became the distinctive feature of Indian thought, and, through the spread of Buddhism, was carried far and wide into Asiatic lands.

It is probable that the earliest reference to the doctrine in the *Upanishads* is to be found in an obscure speech by Yājñavalkya, the great Brāhman sage. Yājñavalkya had claimed a prize offered by a king to the wisest Brāhman, and when his right to this was challenged by Ārtabhāga, justified his claim by revealing the way of knowledge by which the sage might gain the endless world. Ārtabhāga then asked about the man not thus redeemed, but this Yājñavalkya would not answer before others. "We two only will know of this. This is not for us two to speak of in public. The two went away and deliberated. What they said was *karma* (action). What they praised was *karma*. Verily, one becomes good by good action, bad by

[1] *Ṛigveda*, x. 18. [2] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i. 5. 3. 14.
[3] *Op. cit.* vi. 2, 2, 27.

bad action." [1] In the same *Upanishad*, Yājñavalkya expounds his new-found secret in metaphors which have become the commonplaces of Indian thought. The soul passes from body to body, like a caterpillar passing from leaf to leaf, and makes for itself new embodiments like a goldsmith remodelling a piece of gold. "The doer of good becomes good. The doer of evil becomes evil." "As is his desire, such is his resolve; as is his resolve, such the action he performs; what action he performs, that he procures for himself." [2]

The doctrine, thus isolated, is plain and intelligible. A man's acts create his destiny, and the soul wins for itself in its next birth an embodiment which corresponds to its acts in this. But in a country as conservative as India, the old is rarely displaced entirely by the new, and this new and mysterious doctrine of soul-wandering was combined with the early eschatology which spoke of the world where Yama, the first man, ruled over the spirits of the blessed. Men went there by the *Way of the Fathers*. From it the evil were shut out. For them there was only the lower darkness. A higher way there was, the *Way of the Gods*, by which Agni bore the sacrificial offerings to the gods, and, by that way also, men might ascend to enjoy the bliss of the gods. The classic texts for the doctrine of transmigration and *karma* incorporate with this doctrine these earlier views. In India, where cremation is common, it was natural to think of the burning of the dead as a sacrifice borne upwards to the gods by Agni, the god of the sacrificial fire, and these texts teach first the obscure doctrine of the five fires. The faith of the dead man passes upwards, and is five times offered in sacrifice to the gods, and in these five fires is depicted the stages of the soul's

[1] *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* iii. 2. 6. 13 (Hume's translation).
[2] *Op. cit.* iv. 4. 3–5.

descent to be reborn on earth. From the moon, the soul passes into rain ; from rain, into food ; from food, into the seed of the male, and from this is formed the embyro from which, in due time, appears the man. With this doctrine is combined the doctrine of the two paths. The wise, who know the doctrine of the five fires, "and those, too, who in the forest truly worship faith," ascend by the bright Way of the Gods to the worlds of Brahman and for them "there is no return." Men, devout and good, but unillumined thus, ascend by the less splendid Way of the Fathers to the moon, and from there descend, in the way described, to be born again on earth. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* there is a third path. "Those who know not these two ways, become crawling and flying insects, and whatever there is here that bites." [1]

The doctrine of transmigration and *karma*, so expressed, is very hard to visualise, and the passage of the soul from rain into seed seems a precarious one ; but the main idea is clear. The wise pass up by the Way of the Gods to the world of Brahman, from which there is no return. The devout pass by the Way of the Fathers to the moon, and, after enjoying there the fruit of their good works, are born again on earth. The careless are, after death, born on earth as noxious insects. In the corresponding passage in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* a differentiation is made among those who journey along the Way of the Fathers to the moon. Those of "pleasant conduct" here will obtain a "pleasant birth" in one of the high castes. Those of repulsive conduct will have a repulsive birth, be born as dog, or swine, or outcaste.[2] As retribution is thus active in the Way of the Fathers, there is no need for the third path, mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, yet this too is retained, and this confusing addition has become

[1] *Op. cit.* vi. 2. 16. [2] *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, v. 10. 7.

an integral part of later Indian thought. Such are the classic texts for the Hindu doctrine of transmigration and *karma*. Their inconsistencies are manifest, and in the *Upanishads* themselves the attempt is made to reconcile them. Thus in the *Kaushītaki Upanishad* it is taught that all who depart from this world go to the moon. Only later do the two paths diverge, so that those unfit to dwell there descend as rain, and are born "either as a worm, or a moth, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a wild boar, or as a snake, or as a tiger, or as a person, or as some other in this or that condition, he is born again here according to his deeds (*karman*), according to his knowledge."[1]

The *Upanishads* are not systematic works. They give the utterances, not of philosophers, but of seers, and it would be unreasonable to expect to find in them clear and coherent teaching. But the inconsistencies of the doctrine of transmigration and *karma* seem to be more than accidental. Certainly they are in no way removed in the elaborate exposition of the Vedānta given by Śaṅkarāchārya, who ranks among the greatest systematisers of our race. Esoterically he holds that nothing is real but the attributeless Brahman. Exoterically, there is the karmic order in which gods and men are alike involved. He was evidently acutely conscious of the difficulties of the doctrine of transmigration. What connexion, for instance, is there between the soul in this birth and the next? To this, his answer is hesitating and confused, whilst to the question, why should souls be reborn, "when they ascend to the sphere of the moon for the express purpose of finding there a complete requital of their works," he gives an answer more curious than convincing. "When only a little of the effects of their works is left, they can no longer stay there. For, as some courtier, who has joined the king's court with all the

[1] *Kaushītaki Upanishad*, i. 2.

requisites which the king's service demands, is unable to remain at court any longer when, in consequence of his long stay most of his things are worn out, so that he is perhaps left with a pair of shoes and an umbrella only; so the soul, when possessing only a small particle of the effects of its works, can no longer remain in the sphere of the moon."[1] But Śaṅkarāchārya seems to feel himself the inadequacy of this explanation and suggests that a solution may be found in the difference between ritual and moral works. Ritual works earn heaven; failure to perform them, hell. Moral works earn on earth an appropriate birth. Thus the greatest of crimes, such as the murder of a Brāhman, require many evil births on earth to expiate them.[2] Śaṅkarāchārya's suggestion does not seem to have had much influence, and popular literature depicts with lurid detail the frightful hells and the loathsome births on earth which alike await the doer of evil deeds.

II.

Difficult as is the doctrine of transmigration and *karma*, obscure and inconsistent as is its presentation in the classic Hindu texts, it has become the logical *prius* of Hindu thought. I think we can all feel its attractiveness. As a recent writer remarks, "There is an undeniable dignity in the Hindu conception of the soul, pursuing its long pilgrimage through decaying worlds, until at length it reaches home in the endless sea."[3] To Hindus themselves, the interest of the doctrine is not so much speculative as practical. They are not greatly concerned with forecasts of future births, or with attempts to remember past existences. What they are concerned to have is this; an explanation of life's inequalities. And in the doctrine of *karma* they

[1] *Vedāntasūtras*, iii. 1. 8. [2] *Op. cit.* iii. 1. 9–15.
[3] J. B. Pratt, *India and Its Faiths*, p. 106.

rightly claim to have an explanation which all alike can understand and which does seem to vindicate the justice of the universe.

Any explanation is easier to defend than no explanation, and that is where Hinduism seems to have the advantage over Christianity. Soon after I went to India, first the nephew, and then the son of an honoured Indian colleague died of typhoid, just as they were completing very successful university careers. A Hindu judge, who was calling on me a few days after the second death, asked me how I explained it all. I had no explanation, but he had. It was due to some evil *karma* of the past. Yet such explanations, facile as they are, do not make life's burdens easier to carry. It is all very well for the Brāhman to ascribe his advantages to the good *karma* accumulated in a previous birth, but it does not help the Pariah to be told that his degradation, which makes his very proximity a contamination to the Brāhman, is due to evil deeds, done in an earlier life of which he has no knowledge and no recollection. For the miserable it is no gospel to be told that " the Good Law is working on with undeviating accuracy, that its Agents apply it everywhere with unerring insight, with unfailing strength, and that all is therefore very well with the world and with its struggling Souls." [1] Actually the universal Hindu view has been that all is not " very well with the world and its struggling souls." The world is getting steadily and inevitably worse. The golden age was in the past. Ours is the *kali yuga*, the iron age, last and most evil of all. Nor for those who find life an ill, is there the consolation of life's transiency. A Western poet can sing :

" This life holds nothing good for us ;
But it ends soon, and never more can be ;

[1] Mrs. Besant, *Karma*, p. 50.

> But we know nothing of it ere our birth,
> And can know nothing when consigned to earth.
> I ponder these thoughts, and they comfort me."

"This life holds nothing good for us." That, in all the later *Upanishads*, was held to be an obvious truth. But life recurs and recurs, and escape from the bondage of rebirth became the supreme quest of Indian thought.

The doctrine has not only increased the misery it professes to explain. It has led to an undue acquiescence in others' sorrows. The blind, the maimed, the downtrodden and the bereaved are not unfortunates to be helped and comforted; they are criminals enduring the inexorable consequences of evil deeds. And this has stayed the course of pity, and allowed harsh customs to remain unchecked. Thus, when Christian missionaries began their work among the outcastes, they were told by Hindus that the work would be in vain. The degradation and semi-servitude of the outcastes were the inevitable results of deeds done in a previous birth which in this lifetime have to be expiated. The Hindu doctrine has been proved false to fact. There are in South India many Christians of outcaste origin who, in education and character, are at least the equal of many high caste Hindus. The success of these movements deserves more attention than it has generally received, for it is a clear proof that a man's lot is not the fixed result of deeds done in a previous birth. Spiritual forces can, in an improved environment, produce even in his present life a radical change of a man's character and circumstances. To-day, in imitation of the Christian Church, there are Hindu societies for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. It is significant of much that the most ardent workers have belonged, not to orthodox Hinduism, but to the Prārthanā Samāj, in which the doctrine of *karma* is rejected or ignored. Yet this is surely natural. It is hard to work for the un-

fortunate, if we regard them, not as unfortunate, but accursed, incapable in this life of any improvement.

The doctrine of transmigration and *karma*, though primarily an attempt to explain life's inequalities, is also an assertion of the principle of retribution. Here too its success seems incomplete. There is an apparent poetic justice in the popular form of the doctrine. As the *Laws of Manu* put it, "Men who delight in doing hurt become carnivorous animals; those who eat forbidden food, worms; thieves, creatures who consume their own kind." "For stealing grain, a man becomes a rat." "For stealing meat, a vulture, for stealing vehicles, a camel." [1] Against such a form of the theory, Herder's criticism is still unanswerable. If a man, who is a tiger in cruelty, becomes at his next birth an actual tiger, that is no true expiation. As a tiger he will have no conscience, and will be able to ravage and kill without remorse. And in its more subtle forms, the doctrine still fails to reveal the connexion between the joys and sorrows of this life, and the good deeds and bad of a previous existence. It is hard to believe that the newborn babe, in its appealing helplessness and apparent innocence, is really an old and world-weary traveller, who in former births may have been, not innocent, but wicked and sensual. And, when the child grows up, what knowledge has it of any earlier existences? Mr. Leadbeater can tell us quite a lot about previous lives. Who of us can make that claim? And, like ourselves, most Hindus confess that they know nothing about their former births. Thus, in the *Bhagavadgītā* Kṛishṇa expressly says that it is by his divine power that he knows of his previous incarnations, whilst Arjuna, his royal worshipper, is ignorant of his. And much of the awe with which men regarded Gautama the Buddha was due to the belief that he had

[1] *Laws of Manu*, xii. 59. 62. 63. 67.

the supernatural power of knowing of his own and others' earlier lives. Nor has Hindu philosophy succeeded in explaining the connexion between the deeds of a former birth and this present existence. We have only to turn to Śaṅkarāchārya's elaborate discussion of this problem to realise the difficulty of relating the effects of past deeds to a soul which is regarded as neutral and insentient.

The doctrine of *karma* in its classic Hindu form makes of retribution an inevitable law, concerned not with doers but with deeds. It is surely not an accident that the *Upanishads* which first formulate this doctrine have as their prime quest a redemption which ignores altogether the effect of deeds. The doctrine of *karma* treats retribution as an end, and not a means. Its justice is more blind and inexorable than that of the most unimaginative and pedantic of our judges, for, crude and harsh as criminal justice often is, judges are expected to take into consideration the degree to which the wrongdoer is responsible. But in the Hindu view, justice works blindly on, and deeds and their effects are thought of as if they were terms in an algebraic equation. And from the time of the *Upanishads*, the supreme endeavour of Hindu thought has been, in natural reaction, to escape altogether from a bondage more terrible than that which any law court can inflict, for it lasts, not for one lifetime, but for an endless succession of births and deaths. And so the redemption which the *Upanishads* proclaim, and which Śaṅkarāchārya and many a philosopher since have reaffirmed, is a redemption unrelated in any way to deeds, a redemption which comes from the intuitive realisation of the unity of the soul with Brahman. For redemption, thus conceived, good deeds are, at best, only a preliminary. As the *Upanishads* sometimes assert with almost brutal emphasis, for the man thus redeemed, good and evil deeds alike have no meaning, for

all activity belongs to that illusory sphere from which the wise man is liberated. And that is part of the tragedy of Indian life to-day. The doctrine of *karma*, by its exclusive emphasis on retribution, has led to a view of redemption which empties life in the world of meaning, a redemption whose nearest analogy is a dreamless sleep. Such a redemption is no Gospel for a rejuvenated India. Nor are Hindus to-day content to regard this age as a *kali yuga*, an iron age, and to look backwards to a golden past. Many of them are looking forward with high hopes to the time when India shall have a great and honoured place in the councils of the world. They desire to break down the barriers of caste, to uplift the depressed, and to unite all Indians in proud service to their Motherland, but the doctrine of *karma* is a grave obstacle. It unnerves effort, for it turns the unfortunate into the accursed, and makes this present life incapable of improvement, for each man's life is the inexorable effect of deeds done in previous lives of which he has no knowledge.

III.

It would appear then that the doctrine of *karma* has increased the burden of the sorrow it sought to explain, and, by over-emphasising retribution, has led to a view of redemption which ignores altogether the effect of deeds. Yet the doctrine does provide an explanation of life's injustices which all can understand, and, if it be a mere contest of rival theories, it would be hard to show that this doctrine should be abandoned in favour of that doctrine of natural immortality which has been common in the West. In the East, men have seen in existence mere evil, and found in the annihilation of personality the supreme redemption. In the West, it has been commoner to desire the continuity of existence and to regard annihilation as, at

most, a dreadful possibility reserved for the finally impenitent. Apart from a belief in God, I do not know that the view of the West has much advantage over that of the East. Why should men desire life after death, if they have no interests which reach beyond the grave, why regard immortality as a boon, if the things they prize are not such as have eternal value? Dealt with in isolation, the two theories are both best regarded as reasonable, but precarious hypotheses. The issue between them cannot be settled by general considerations. It can be settled, if at all, only by reference to our faith in God.

It is here that we have the contrast between the Hindu and the Christian view. The forerunners of Christ, the great Hebrew prophets, ignored altogether the current beliefs in the existence of the spirits of the dead. Sheol was a half-pagan idea, for it was generally regarded as a sphere in which the souls of the dead were cut off from the presence of God. Only after men had realised what a true communion with God might be, did they conceive of an immortality which meant, not the dim existence of a material soul, but the perpetuation of a communion with God begun on earth. I doubt myself if there be any other way by which assurance of the Christian doctrine of immortality can be secured. God is the God, not of the dead, but of the living. He is a God who will not allow the communion men have had with Him to lapse by death. These words of Jesus are worth more for the Christian doctrine of immortality than many an elaborate argument. Communion with such a God as He revealed must be eternal. The Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is a God who, having loved, loves to the end.

We are concerned then in Christianity, not with a belief in natural immortality to which our belief in God has to be adjusted, but with faith in the God whom Christ revealed,

of which the belief in immortality is the inevitable correlate. It is here that the real issue between Hinduism and Christianity lies. In Hinduism the belief in *karma* is fundamental, and it has been found impossible to combine with this, belief in a God who is both ultimately real and personally active. The karmic order is inexorable. Every deed creates its effect. If God were active, He too would be bound by the karmic order, and so Hindu speculation, in its most influential form, has taught that the one reality is the Brahman who is insentient and attributeless. In his exposition of one of Bādarāyaṇa's *Sūtras*, Śaṅkarāchārya expressly states that the creation of the world was without aim or purpose.[1] Īsvara, the creator, is but the highest of the effected gods, under *karma*, and so unreal with the unreality of the whole karmic process. Even Rāmānuja's valiant attempt to legitimatise in the Vedānta a more theistic faith breaks down here. At times he speaks of the supreme Brahman as at once personal and real, yet in his discussion of this *Sūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa he has no better solution than Śaṅkarāchārya gave. The highest Brahman made, or rather "arranged," the world in motiveless sport, and Rāmānuja evidently believed that, if God had motive or desire, He too would fall under the karmic law.

A meaningless reality, or a living God who is unreal: it is a harsh alternative, and one that Indian devotion has often tried to evade.

Probably it is to this endeavour that the most prized to-day of all Hindu books, the *Bhagavadgītā*, owes much of its popularity. In it Kṛishṇa is proclaimed as a living God, personal and supreme, who loves men and seeks the good of those that worship him. Yet, though active, he is free from the karmic law, for, though he works, "works defile him not. He has no longing for the fruit of works." And

[1] On *Vedāntasūtras*, ii. 1. 33.

in words which have brought comfort to many, he bids his worshipper "Have thy mind on me, thy devotion toward me, thy sacrifice to me, do homage to me. To me thou shalt come. I make thee a truthful promise; thou art very dear to me. Surrendering all the laws, come for refuge to me alone. I will deliver thee from all sins; grieve not." [1] Such words as these explain in part the fascination of the book for many an educated Hindu to-day. Yet even here a true Theism is not reached, and the Kṛishṇa who loves men and seeks their love, is declared to be veiled by illusion and known to none; "indifferent to all born beings," there is none whom he loves.[2]

The belief in *karma*, which has compelled Indian thinkers to exclude the supreme God from all activity, lest He too be involved in the cycle of deeds and their effects, has only partly affected popular practice. The timorous still have thought it wise to buy off the hostility of evil powers, whilst the devout have prayed to the gods, and asked their help, as if these gods were at once active and real. It is hard to reconcile with the belief in *karma* the intense devotion to the gods which finds expression in much of the vernacular literature. Who, for instance, in reading the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsī Dās would imagine that to its author Rāma was unreal with the unreality of the whole karmic order? It is a personal God that is sought and loved, and the worshipper thinks of Him as real and loving. Tulsī Dās himself tells us of one who asked a famous sage to tell him about God, and the great seer began to describe Brahman, in the terms familiar in Hindu thought, as the "unwishful, the nameless, the formless," identical with the soul of men, but the man replied, "The worship of the impersonal laid no hold of my heart." [3] That is surely a true complaint;

[1] xviii. 65. 66 (Dr. Barnett's translation).
[2] vii. 25. 26. ix. 29.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 107.

it is the personal and the known that the heart desires. And with some of these saints, devotion to their God is so intense that their love for Him seems to give them at times all that they desire. Thus in Tukārām we find a joy in God so great that he can even turn away from the thought of liberation from the bondage of *karma*, and prefer, to absorption in the Infinite, a rebirth on earth; all earth's sorrows are worth while, if only God be near to help.

"Hear, O God, my supplication,—
Do not grant me Liberation.

'Tis what men so much desire;
Yet how much this joy is higher.

Heavenly joy is not for me,
For it passeth speedily.

But that name how strangely dear,
That in songs of praise we hear.

Ah, says Tukā, it is this
Makes our lives so full of bliss." [1]

Yet heart and head remain in opposition. The devotion of the *bhakta* and the wisdom of the seer are incompatible. Even where, as in the Śaiva Siddhānta of South India, the most strenuous endeavour is made to reconcile the two, a true Theism is not reached.[2] And this is inevitable, for the inexorable working of the karmic law leaves no room for a living God, active in men's salvation, and ultimately real.

IV.

Rebirth or immortality, which of these great historic answers best solves the problem of the life to come? Many to-day in Europe find very attractive the Eastern answer of rebirth. Some accept it because it seems to explain the obvious inequalities of gifts and circumstances; others are

[1] *Psalms of Marāṭhā Saints*, translated by Nicol Macnicol, p. 83.

[2] See Schomerus, *Der Śaiva Siddhānta*, p. 430, or the present writer's *Redemption Hindu and Christian*, p. 136.

inclined to it, because in their natural revolt against what they think the orthodox doctrine, they are ready to embrace any theory which gives a further probation for that great majority of people who at death seem still too immature in character to have assigned to them a final destiny of weal or woe ; others find it reassuring to those Malthusian fears of over-population which they carry over even to the vast spaces of the universe. It has seemed worth while therefore to give some account of the working out of this doctrine in Hinduism, where it is no stray surmise, or fanciful speculation, but the prime axiom of life, influencing all thought and practice. Actually, as we have seen, the doctrine has not alleviated but increased "the burthen of the mystery," "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world." Nor is this doctrine one of probation, as some have supposed, an educative process, appointed by a loving God. The soul has no knowledge of previous births, gains no insight from them. It is the victim of a fixed and automatic law of retribution, so that the miseries of this life are the almost mechanical effects of deeds done in a previous existence with which this present life has no discernible connexion. And this over-emphasis on retribution has led to the principle of retribution being unduly ignored. The doctrine of *karma*, which makes of retribution an end and not a means, has had as its correlate a view of redemption which seeks to evade altogether the effect of deeds, and to cut the supreme God off from all purposed activity lest He too fall under the inexorable karmic law.

Some facts there are which show that much which has been attributed to the working out of *karma* is really due to heredity or environment. If a man of impure life has a child born blind, it is surely more just that the man should blame himself than that he should forget his own

misdeeds, and regard his child as a criminal suffering in this life for sins of a previous birth; yet, if the issue be simply between the doctrine of *karma* and the doctrine of man's natural immortality, it is unlikely that it will ever be decided. Like most ultimate problems, this problem is not to be solved by logic. Our answer will depend upon our thought of God, and our thought of God we derive less from reasoning than from the personal judgment of faith. Members of reform movements, like the Prārthanā Samāj, which reject or ignore the doctrine of *karma*, do so, so far as we can judge, not because of its inherent difficulties, but because they have reached a faith in a living God whose love gives life too great a meaning for it to be interpreted only by the karmic law. And converts from caste Hinduism become Christian, not because they have first renounced the doctrine of *karma*, but because, in some way or other, they have begun to think Christ's thought of God, and so have learnt to judge of life now, and of life hereafter, from the standpoint of His Gospel. Men feel the appeal of Christ's words, they gain from Him something of His confidence in God's love, and because of this they know themselves to be liberated from the bondage of the karmic order, that they may be no longer cogs in a great machine, but the children of a heavenly Father who is active in their lives and to whose mercy and faithfulness they can gladly leave the final issue of their own and others' lives.

In Christianity, the belief of immortality is not primary but derivative. It is one of the consequences of faith in the God whom Christ revealed. Unlike Zoroaster and Muḥammad, Christ did not speak much of the life to come, nor base His appeal on hopes of heaven or fears of hell. Instead He proclaimed and revealed a God of love with whom already men might have communion. He showed in time the meaning of eternal life, and called men to share with Him in the

resources of the Kingdom of God, that unseen and supernal realm to which His followers were already introduced. The God He preached was a God of the living, not of the dead, and those who trust the God of Jesus are sure that, in death, and in the life to come, He still will be their God. God is no longer the utterly unknown. He has the content to us of Christ's character, so that such a one as Paul, in spite of the disappointments and hardships of his life, could speak of himself as being "in Christ." The unseen for him was no longer the unrevealed, for he already lived his life in God, the God whom Christ had shown. And with such a faith, the problems which the doctrine of *karma* sought to solve are eased, if not explained. Sorrow loses much of its bitterness and its perplexity. And, though retribution is recognised, it is regarded, not as an end, but as a means, for retribution itself serves the purposes of God's redeeming love. The Cross becomes the symbol of God's rule, the revelation of the way God bears the *karma* of our human sin, and the Cross is meant to be the symbol of our service, for none can shirk the Cross who follow Christ. There is no fixed law of *karma*. Instead we have God redeeming man, and men, thus redeemed, taking part in the world's redemption.

The issue then between the Hindu and the Christian doctrines is not primarily one of logical coherency. It goes deep down to our whole conception of God and man, and of the meaning and opportunities of our human lives. The Hindu doctrine of *karma*, in seeking to explain sorrow, has increased its burden. By its over-emphasis on retribution it has led to a view of redemption which ignores altogether the effect of deeds. And some of its implicates are contradicted by the clear witness of experience. Many in India are dissatisfied with this doctrine. They feel that it has led to an undue acquiescence in social cruelties and mocks

their dream of a united Motherland restored to what they deem its pristine glory. But they have nothing to put in its place, and many not unnaturally complain that the followers of Christ are as little liberated from the seen as they have felt themselves to be from the bondage of the karmic law. The Christian Gospel speaks of God as redeeming love, and calls us now to an eternal life which death cannot interrupt but will consummate. A message so strange and glad will be believed as it is not only preached but manifested, and the Church will make credible the Christian doctrine of immortality as it shows forth in act the meaning of that communion with God which through Christ we are meant already to experience.

SYDNEY CAVE.

THE ENCRATITES AND THE MARRIAGE AT CANA.

THE earliest days of the Church are marked by an outburst of asceticism, which expressed itself, amongst other developments, in abstinence from flesh-food and wine. As a consequence (just as in our own times in Temperance circles) it became necessary to prove that the New Testament was on the side of the abstainer, and that our Lord and His disciples belonged to the order of Nazarites, much as, if they were alive to-day, we might prove them to be Good Templars or members of the Independent Order of Rechabites.

Then, as now, the stumbling-block was in the account of the marriage at Cana of Galilee, where the house was "dry," at an early stage of the proceedings, and the language used suggests that the guests might have imbibed as much as was good for them. So the question arises as to how the

Encratites (as they were called) of the second century and their leader Tatian would deal with this incident, so as to harmonise it, if possible, with their own position and practice.

The Fourth Gospel (as we call it in deference to criticism) was certainly in their canon ; and while there is evidence to show that Tatian was not averse to making minute changes in the Gospel text, it would hardly be practicable for him, even in making a Harmony, to omit the second chapter of John, or to deal violently with it. Any changes introduced must be moderate, and, if possible, explanatory : if they deal with the difficulty intelligently, the various reading which is caused in the text, whether by addition or omission or other modification, can be labelled as an Encratism or a Tatianism, and set on one side by subsequent editors ; just as, for example, when Tatian sets John the Baptist a diet of *milk* and wild honey, it is clear the milk is a substituted Encratism for a troublesome insect.

Now when we look at the text of the Gospel in the passage referred to, the first thing we notice is an explanation, in two Old Latin MSS., that the reason for the deficiency of wine was that there was a concourse of guests, beyond those expected or prepared for : thus the Palatine Codex (cod. *e*) says :

> et factum est per multam turbam vocitorum vinum consummari,

and the MS. known as Codex Rehdigerianus (cod. *l*) says :

> et factum est præ multa turba vocatorum vinum consummari.

Here we have an explanation given of the shortness of the supply, and it might easily be taken as a proof that the amount of wine individually consumed must have been very small when there were so many persons at the banquet. There is, however, another explanation current, which is certainly due to Tatian himself and was part of his Harmony.

According to this theory, for it can only be a theory, our Lord did not arrive until late in the festival, when the supply of wine was exhausted. The remark of His mother regarding the lack becomes, on this showing, an expression of surprise. The festival was now Encratite of necessity; Jesus and His disciples are not responsible for the preliminary proceedings.

Now let us see if we can establish the truth of our statements. We turn to Ephraim's commentary upon the Diatessaron (Mös., p. 52 ff.) and find as follows:

> "There was a wedding in Cana of Galilee; and *when the Lord came thither*, his mother says to him, '*They have no wine here.*' Jesus says to her, 'What have I to do with thee, woman? my time is not yet come.'"

This professes to be the text of the incident, and it is followed by a profuse commentary, sprinkled with bits of text. What are we to say of the words which we have italicised?

Ephraim proves them to be part of the text, either by adding comments upon them, or by repeating them in an emphatic manner. He tells us that Mary was anxious because those who were responsible for the banquet would have been dishonoured, "for they will hear *that thou hast arrived* when the wine has failed."

Again he says definitely (p. 56), "Our Lord, when he was invited, did not come with the rest of the invited, who preceded him, in order that they might consume the first and light wine; and *then he came himself*, in order that he might bring wine of the sweetest kind." Here it is quite clear that our Lord is a late-comer, presumably with His mother and His disciples, which accords with what Ephraim gives as the Gospel text. "No wine *here*" is the language of a late arrival.

In the next place we pick out of Ephraim's commentary

the traces of the reading which we found in the two Old Latin MSS. Here it is said (p. 55):

"His opulence did not scorn their poverty, who could not even supply light wine to *match the number of those who were invited.*"

The excessive number of guests is what causes the deficiency in the inferior wine at the beginning of the feast, and the best wine had not yet arrived!

What about the statement of Mary, "They have no wine here"? Ephraim repeats it again in an expanded form: "*My son*, they have no wine *here*!" The addition of the words "My son" to the address is found also in our two Old Latin MSS., which are this time reinforced by no less a person than St. Ambrose, if we may believe Tischendorf, who quotes that father but without giving a reference. Setting Tischendorf, however, on one side, we have twice convicted our pair of Old Latin MSS. of a Tatianism. The only word for which we have not found attestation is *hic*, but since Ephraim gives it twice we need not hesitate to restore it to his text, that is to the *Diatessaron*.

There is another direction in which Tatian was obliged to change his text. In the second chapter of John the Cana incident belongs to the beginning of the ministry and has the preface "On the third day." Tatian, however, in order to make a harmonistic sequence, carries the incident to a much later period in the life. This required a re-adjustment of the opening words, and they were either omitted, as here in Ephraim's text, or they were replaced by a non-committal sentence as in Dr. Plooij's Liège Harmony, which says "Upon a day."

A further difficulty will arise over the words, "This beginning of miracles," according to which John puts this particular one into the front, in the order of time, of all our Lord's works of power. This, however, admits of a very easy interpretation; we have only to say that it was the

first miracle done in Cana of Galilee, and then all is clear; the wedding can take place at any time.

Now let us return to our Latin MSS. (codd. *e* and *l*) and see if they show any other variations in their account of the incident.

In John ii. 5 we are told that our Lord's mother said to the servants, "Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it." Then, in verse 7, "Jesus says to them, Fill the waterpots with water." Now, in our Palatine MS. (cod. *e*) the verse is introduced as follows: "And the mother of Jesus called the servants to her and said" (*et advocatis ad se ministris mater ihm dixit illis*). In the seventh verse there is a similar expansion; this time it is Jesus that called the servants to Him and said to them (*et ihs vocitis ad se ministris dixit illis*). At this point the other MS. (cod. *l*) has a similar expansion (*et vocavit ihs ministris et dixit eis*, where the incorrect form *ministris* is a survival from an original *vocatis ministris*). We note again the concurrence of the two MSS. in the peculiar reading, and this time they are joined by a third Old Latin text (the Corbey MS. *ff*), so that the variant is of wider diffusion than might at first have been suspected.

It is lawful to suggest that here also we have a survival from the *Diatessaron*. It is not, of course, necessary to limit Encratite glosses or modifications of the text of the *Diatessaron* to the hand of Tatian. There were other literary men in the movement, whose minds might affect the text. It is interesting to notice, however, how often our enquiries lead us, with Ephraim's assistance, to the *Diatessaron* itself.

Another interesting and parallel line of investigation of possible Encratisms elsewhere in the Gospel will be found in a recent article by Dr. Plooij in the *Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenchaft* (22 Bd., 1923), under the heading, *Eine enkrati-*

tische Glose im Diatessaron, where he shows reason for believing that the addition of the name *Adam* in Matthew xix. 5, so as to read,

"And *Adam* said, For this cause shall a man, etc.,"

is an Encratite modification of the Gospel. Dr. Plooij found it, for instance, in the Old Dutch Harmony at Liège, to which he has already drawn attention as being derived ultimately from Tatian himself.

Something like the same interpretation will be found in Theophilus of Antioch in his *Discourse to Autolycus* (Bk. ii., c. 28), where he writes as follows: "And *Adam said* to Eve, This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; and further he prophesied as follows: For this cause shall a man, etc." Here Adam is defined to be the speaker in Genesis as the *Diatessaron* defines him in the Gospel. Theophilus is a contemporary of Tatian. Either might have taken his interpretation from the other. It is a gloss belonging to the end of the second century.

The foregoing pages are not to be regarded as offering an exhaustive treatment of the variations of the text in the second chapter of John. Our object is to show that Encratite readings are found in the Gospel text just as, as we have shown elsewhere, there were Marcionite readings in some of the oldest Latin MSS. And if we remember that Encratism was, in its earlier history, a movement inside the Church itself, we shall not be altogether surprised if we find the hand of Tatian over-writing the text of St. John in copies current in orthodox churches.

These studies are important as explaining to the average Biblical student the genesis of New Testament variants. We have long felt that the older method of settling the text by means of groups of letters and figures was unsound, and that erroneous readings are not got rid of finally except by explanation. All the older rules about "harder readings,"

"shorter readings," "earlier readings," and the like are out of date. As Dean Burgon once said, "Have you not yet found out, sir, that all various readings are early?" Or as M. Solomon Reinach recently remarked, in defending a brilliant emendation which he had made to the text of Philippians, "On peut m'objecter le vieil adage—*lectio difficilior præferenda faciliori*—faux comme tous les adages."

The New Testament critic of the future will endorse both these statements; he will require not maxims, but explanations.

RENDEL HARRIS.

MESSENGER AND MASTER:

A STUDY OF PROFESSOR PEABODY'S "PAUL."[1]

IN this recent book, Professor Peabody makes a valuable contribution to Pauline Literature. The personality of the Apostle is clearly drawn, and the individual elements in Paul's thinking are sharply denoted. The book is apparently written for those who "cannot claim specialised qualification as exegetical or philosophical scholars," and the writer attempts to delimit those regions of Pauline speculation where it is unnecessary for such "laymen" to penetrate. In other words, Professor Peabody seeks to make Paul intelligible to the "modern mind," which itself often seems to elude definition. Its currents and cross-currents of thinking are very bewildering. One characteristic, however, is clearly marked, which the American writer shares—its dislike and distrust of all dogmatic philosophies and closed systems of thought, and its emphasis on what may be called the historic in religion. Often dogma and history are regarded as alternatives. The antithesis is misleading,

[1] *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*, by Francis Greenwood Peabody. New York: The Macmillan Company, 10*s*. 6*d*. net.

and it cannot be claimed that Professor Peabody altogether escapes the snare. The whole point at issue is whether the Pauline theology has a historic basis in the historical Jesus and in the greater Christ of the Christian Church. Professor Peabody regards the Pauline thought as the first attempt to construct a theology out of the Christian tradition. "Out of a Palestinian memory it made a hope for the world; out of a religion of loyalty it made a religion of redemption." He frequently implies and once at least states that in Paul "the Galilean idyl is translated into a cosmic drama." The position characteristic of the writer, and, incidentally, a description of what he conceives as the "modern mind" and its needs, may be grasped best in the chapter on Paul's Theology. That chapter by no means indicates the value of the whole book, but it raises in a new and challenging way the issues involved in the controversy, "Jesus or Paul."

The emphasis is laid upon the Hellenistic environment of Paul. Here a service has no doubt been done to the interpretation of Christian thought. Paul and the Mystery-religions is a subject not yet exhausted, but progress is not attained by such an assertion as this, that in Paul "a Palestinian gospel seems transformed into a mystery-religion. This momentous transition from the call of Jesus to repentance to the sacramental cult of a descending Saviour certainly presents a perplexing situation" (p. 147). A still more questionable statement is made in the same connexion. "It was this bold appropriation of the mystery-religions which rescued the new faith from the fate of a Jewish sect, and gave it a footing in the Roman world." Certainly Paul did rescue Christianity from becoming a Jewish sect, but he did so by his shattering criticism and personal abandonment of legalism. It was the revolt from legalism that enabled Paul to relate Jesus to the Hellenistic conception of the universe. To the Jew the Law was as

fundamental in the scheme of things as the laws of nature are to us. A mind like that of the writer of the First Gospel, by his insistence on prophetic fulfilment in the life of Jesus, is as really seeking to bring Jesus into a central relationship with the universe as Paul does. His aim is, as Professor Burkitt puts it, "to show that the life and mission of Jesus was no divine freak or caprice, but a part of a well-ordered whole. To the pious Jew the utterances of the Prophets had very much the same place in their idea of the world as what we call the laws of nature have for us." [1] Paul turns the cosmic position claimed for the Law by contemporary Judaism against itself when he says that "the law was ordained by angels through the hand of a mediator." It is not a gift directly given by God Himself. Its manner of giving "by angels" shows its subordinate character. No doubt Paul realised that the craving represented by the mystery-religions and much else in Hellenistic thought, for direct union with the divine, was a nobler thing than the approach to God by way of commandments. It was Paul's experience of God in Christ that ultimately saved Christianity from becoming a Jewish sect.

No doubt the ultimate and decisive conception in any exposition of Paul's doctrine is the religious conception of the Person of Christ, and the historical basis in the consciousness of our Lord which under-lies it. It will, I think, quite clearly appear to Professor Peabody's readers that his interpretation of Paul's theology stands or falls by his conception of the personal relationship in which Paul regarded himself as standing to Jesus Christ. Words like the following ominously suggest the reasons that lead Professor Peabody to minimise the permanent value of Paul's metaphysic. "This exaltation of Christ as conceived by Paul does not reach the point at which the Church was

[1] *The Gospel History and Its Transmission*, p. 201.

soon to arrive. The deity of Christ is not a Pauline doctrine" (p. 160). There are perplexing statements both in Paul and in the Fourth Gospel about the subordination of Christ to the Father. The perplexity is no doubt a signal that a re-statement of the Church's doctrine of the divinity of Christ is overdue; but to found on such an utterance as 1 Corinthians xv. 28 or on a supposed distinction in Paul's mind between *Θεός* and *κύριος*, an assertion that the later Church gave Christ a position carefully denied Him by Paul, is quite unjustifiable.

Professor Peabody several times refers with approval to John Locke the philosopher, who is less well known as a commentator on the Pauline writings. Locke held that doctrines which demand intellectual effort and distinctions that call for subtle thought cannot belong to a "catholic" faith. "All that is necessary for all to believe about God must be easily understood." It would not be unjust to say that these words of Locke are descriptive of Professor Peabody's own theological attitude. He may even be said to share Locke's distrust of "enthusiasm" as a source of mental illumination. He sees in Paul's lyric emotion of love and loyalty to Jesus the origin of his speculative flights as in Colossians. More than once Paul is spoken of as a kind of "spiritual airman." "The flight of his thought among the great spaces of theological speculation has not made him incapable of descending to the solid ground of practical morals. A Hebrew when he starts, he is not less a Hebrew when he alights. His theology is a thrilling interlude of daring adventure, between the repentance from which he rises, and the exhortations with which he concludes. It is not surprising that Paul's lofty reasoning should have arrested the gaze of the world, as one eagerly watches the evolutions of an airman; but the incidents of his experience which are the best evidence of courage and self-control are

to be found, first, at his point of departure, and then in his capacity to land ; in the confession from which he ascends, and in the duty to which he returns " (p. 173).

It may be questioned whether Professor Peabody has here done justice even to the psychology of the airman ; he has certainly not done justice to the theology of Paul. Where would Paul have said his feet were planted on those occasions when his lyric joy in Christ was at its highest ? Prevailingly, he " *walks* in the spirit." " The life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." Carlyle's judgment on Locke[1] should be borne in mind. " Locke, a clear, humble-minded, patient, reverent, nay religious man, had paved the way for banishing religion from the world." It serves to banish religion from the world, if its lyric moments are incapable of feeding thought and speculation. Christian experience fosters intellectual daring. " All that it is necessary to believe about God " is a relative statement. Its scope and content depends on the necessity which is laid upon a man by life itself, upon the experience of moral weakness, failure, or sorrow which life has yielded him, either in his own experience or in the experience of his fellow-men.

No one will quarrel with Professor Peabody in his attitude towards the forms of thought in which Paul clothes his experience of Christ. His universe is of necessity conceived differently from ours. Most will admit that the apocalyptic hope of the speedy return of Jesus to the rescue of His people and the judgment of the world, is modified in Paul's thought as time goes on. Even that hope, however, purged of what to us are now only its theatrical accompaniments, enshrines the great truth of a mighty world of spiritual power and spiritual truth waiting to find entrance into

[1] *Essays* (on Goethe), I. 186.

our own. Also, Professor Peabody seems to forget what is very germane to his purpose of relating Paul to modern problems, namely, that the doctrine of the Parousia exercised at least two important influences on the social development of Paul's day. In the first place, it gave an entirely new value to the individual life of the humblest Christians, which had its own sinister developments—forms of an "eschatological restlessness"—in untutored and undisciplined hearts, as the Thessalonian Letters show, and as our own social movements continue to illustrate. In the second place, it may plausibly be contended that the doctrine of the Parousia saved early Christianity from perishing in the morass of political revolution. Moreover, if we take the Thessalonian passage about "meeting the Lord in the air," it may be asked under what other form of thought could Paul possibly have spoken of the love of Christ as stronger than death, than as the cosmological scenery of death and resurrection was conceived in his own day. Such passages are more than curiosities of obsolete Jewish thought. The forms of thought are obsolete, and are all that is peculiarly Jewish; the thought is permanent. The grave is still a deep place, and the unseen world a continual perplexity for the modern mind. We need a Christ whose love is stronger than death, who "descends from heaven with a shout," able to overcome that apparent absorption of a human personality into the mighty forces of nature:

> No motion has she now, no force;
> She neither hears nor sees;
> Rolled round in earth's diurnal course,
> With rocks, and stones, and trees.

We are not compelled to accept Paul's natural history or his cosmogony when we receive into our hearts his great conception of Jesus as Lord of all, and realise the truth of his timeless utterance, "If any man be in Christ, there

is a new creation." A "lyric emotionalism"—"the wonder-working power of attachment" as Matthew Arnold describes it—expressing itself under the forms of either Hebrew mythology or Greek mythology, does not account for Paul.

At the same time, a debt of gratitude is owing to Professor Peabody, inasmuch as he has emphasised the lyric strain, the sound of singing, which is everywhere heard in Paul's writing, as indeed in many other parts of the New Testament. Most of his dogmas are also doxologies. It is certain that Paul reasons about his faith as the needs of his converts demanded, and it is probable that he was always too deeply moved to survey the "new creation," the new order of things in Christ, with such detachment as pure science demands. He is, however, all the better able to speak of Him whose handiwork the New Creation is. To recognise this, is to apply a useful corrective to the colder scientific interpretation of an older theology, and to establish a real link with the poetic and idealistic movement characteristic of the modern mind. A recent literary critic[1] has acclaimed Paul as "the next great romantic after Plato." He says that "Paul is a romantic Christian because he realises, as possibly few of his fellow-apostles did, the tremendous venture on which he has embarked." They are not the conceptions of the Hellenistic cosmogony which commended Paul to the Græco-Roman world, but the use he made of them. He "brings every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ." He can tolerate, romantic poet as he is, no lack of equilibrium between faith and reason, no contradiction between sense and feeling. Paul is conscious of no disparity between his reasoned system of things and what he knows of the historical Christ. Whether he had

[1] H. J. C. Grierson, *Classical and Romantic*. Leslie Stephen Lecture 1923.

seen Christ in the flesh or not is a comparatively unimportant matter. He had "the mind of Christ," and, in spite of Professor Peabody, there are clear indications everywhere —even in the later epistles, where his "spiritual flights" are most numerous—of reminiscence of the earthly life of Jesus, and of the importance of His example in the regulation of conduct. Even Philippians ii. 5 ff. is a case in point. The emphasis is ethical, and although some mythical form of a "descending god" were regarded as interwoven with the thought — which is unlikely, surely that does not invalidate the ethical value of the imagery. Paul did not derive his theology from his ethics, but his ethics from his theology; neither did he derive his ethics from Hellenism, but from the example of Jesus. Even if the form of the thought were Greek, the thought itself is distinctively Christian. In Colossians, the apologetic motive largely determines the intellectual expression, and as Bruce puts it, Paul becomes a Paulinist against his will. Professor Peabody takes up the position that Paul, as time went on, moves more and more away from the historical Christ and out into an atmosphere of pure theological speculation. He speaks in one place (p. 113) of the atmosphere of speculation in which his closing days were passed; he seeks to justify his faith "by logical reasoning and to rationalise the convictions which he had attained." But Paul is doing this from the very beginning. For him—as for Jesus—the Cross was the whole of Christianity, and in one form or another, whether in Galatians or Romans or Colossians, he is constrained to make the death and resurrection of Jesus the central fact in the universe. It may be that Paul's later theological speculation gave some opportunity to docetic views of the Person of Christ, just as his emphasis on justification by faith suggested antinomianism, but it is impossible to accept Professor Peabody's interpretation of

Philippians ii. 7, 8 as meaning that the figure of the human Teacher of Galilee has receded, and "the human life of Jesus is now viewed as the temporal habitation of a Divine Being, descending for a time from heaven. His physical form was but an 'appearing in human form' and 'taking the nature of a servant.'" It may be that the Fourth Gospel was needed to correct certain erroneous inferences from the Pauline conception of Jesus as the central Figure in a great cosmic drama, but this must not bias our interpretation of Paul's real thought. How can it be said that in these later letters, "Galilee and Jerusalem, the Sermon on the Mount and the parables, have become indistinguishable points in the landscape of faith, as Paul rises above them in the clouds of spiritual communion," with such passages as Colossians i. 24, iii. 1, 16; Ephesians iv. 13 in full view? Both Ephesians and Colossians are saturated with the thought of Jesus' earthly life.

Is there no conception of a "cosmic drama" in the utterances of Jesus? Professor Peabody doubts the genuineness of the words in Matthew xi. 27 ff. These words, which Augustine noted as the hall-mark of the Christian faith, and whose conception he missed in the pagan writers, are in themselves, understood to their depths and with their emphasis on the momentousness of Jesus' own personality, sufficient basis for Paul's daring speculation. What of the words, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," or the significance of the casting out of the demons in the Synoptics, or the utterances about the great antagonist, "the Prince of this world"; or the apocalyptic utterances; or "hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right hand of the power of God"? Take one other instance and recall the words about "one sinner that repenteth." Such a human experience of the power of Christ has reverberations in the furthest star. "There is joy in the presence

of the angels of heaven over one sinner that repenteth." One needs to cite the Hebrew conception of the joy at creation when " the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy " in order to realise the cosmic conception in Jesus' words. Paul's own overwhelming experience of Christ was in itself sufficient to encourage him to the most daring speculation, without any sense that he is leaving the solid ground of historical fact. Historically the claim of Christianity for Christ is that " in Him all things cohere," and the interest in the history of our religion languishes only because the impression is all too common that the appeal of Paul, or any of the New Testament writers to the modern mind involves our acceptance of the forms in which they cast their thought and experience.

Professor Peabody makes another attempt to set alongside one another Paul and Jesus, in a chapter entitled " Messenger and Master." The two portraits are drawn with that realism and sympathy so characteristic of the writer, and with much charm of style. Jesus' capacity for indignation is thus described : " Only when his indignation is moved by the desecration of sacred places is his capacity for passion revealed, and it is suggestive to note that this uprush of righteous wrath so impressed its witnesses as to be reported in detail by all four of the Evangelists." But were there not other occasions of anger, as when the children were repelled, or when men objected to His healing on the Sabbath day ? If it is allowable to generalise, one might say that Jesus' indignation was roused by any hindrance placed by human hands in the way of instinctive approach to God in worship, or in love, or in the cry of human need. Nor does it seem quite true to say that " the events of nature and life about him were but parables of his own mission or of his Father's care." The words almost suggest a purely didactic use of nature, and seem to conceal that poetic and

intuitive vision of the Father in everyday events and in ordinary aspects of nature which is so marked in the speech of Jesus. He spoke of birds and beasts and flowers as though He loved them and understood their ways. Dr. Glover points out that even Jesus' vultures have "the living bird's instinct for carrion." [1] The sheep, cows, hens, and sparrows which appear in His pictures are all real and preach their own sermons in their own language. No greater contrast than Paul's attitude to nature could be imagined, and his one reference to oxen is frankly allegorical and no more convincing portrait of the personality of Paul has been drawn than that given by Professor Peabody in the chapter, "The Man."

The attempt to contrast Jesus and Paul really does not take us very far. Do what we will, we can never see Jesus, save through the eyes of Paul and Mark and Luke, and none knows how many others in the earliest Christian community. The Gospels themselves are written *ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν*. There is no real disadvantage in this. The Christian Church was in being before a line of the New Testament was written or could be written, and it is in accordance with Jesus' methods that it should be so. The first stone of it was laid in a notable confession of personal faith. Jesus trusts the "spiritual loyalty" of His disciples as a method of reaching the truth. He Himself wrote nothing. His parables are deliberately constructed so as to produce thought. His appeal is from soul to soul. That is the way in which He chose to make Himself known. "Jesus transmitted His words and His acts, which were His mightiest words, through one sole medium, the memories and affections and activities of the souls of men who were moved by them." [2] Paul always claimed to be on the same level as

[1] *The Jesus of History*, p. 32.
[2] J. Oman, *Vision and Authority*, p. 186.

the earlier apostles, and his title to be "in Christ" must exclude, in his own mind, the taking of any unwarrantable liberties either with the consciousness or with the person of His Master. In the nature of the case, there can be no real opposition between Messenger and Master.

Professor Peabody's book is indeed stimulating, if it is also in some ways disappointing as a contribution to the controversy whose watchword is "Back to Christ." Yet the book is one that must be reckoned with. The style is unconventional and there are many passages of much beauty and deep suggestiveness. This portrait of Paul recognises the presence of blood in his veins. His tempestuous characteristics are clearly depicted, and, as Luther said, this Paul speaks at times "pure flame." It is a true instinct that prompts the remark that "Paul's obscurity, like Browning's, is due to speed." Nevertheless, when we have laid down the book, we still renew the question which pervades its whole thought. The question may be put in the words of the writer himself, "What was the essential relationship of the Apostle to the Lord—of the Messenger to the Master?"

R. H. Strachan.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM.

"KNOWLEDGE" AND "REVELATION" IN HEBREW.

The Rev. Professor T. H. Robinson's adverse criticism of Dr. Naville's use of נגד, in the December, 1923, number of the Expositor surprises me.

M. Naville's meaning, whether one reads the original French or my translation, is very obvious. The Higher Critics, according to M. Naville, take Exodus vi. 3 as saying that the *tetragrammaton*, or the proper name of the God of Israel, was not known in Israel before the time of Moses. M. Naville himself takes the verse as meaning, not that the *tetragrammaton* was not known, as a vocable, before the time of Moses, but that it was not known, until then, in the full import of the term. M. Naville contends that ידע is of too rich a connotation to have been used, as it actually is used in Exodus vi. 3, if the impoverished idea of his opponents were all that was meant. He maintains that to express the impoverished idea of his opponents, the more likely term to make use of would have been the Hiph'il of נגד.

Now I submit that (*a*) it is good philology to use some part of ידע, when the sense intended is the making known, not of a bare sound, but of Jehovah's character; (*b*) although one might conceivably use the Pi'el of ספר, where M. Naville would use the Hiph'il of נגד—in two parallel lines in Psalm xix. 2 the words are used almost synonymously—yet, in view of the very passages (in the Hebrew Bible, Gen. xxxii. 30; Judges xiii. 6) to which M. Naville appeals, in order to express the idea which, in the present connexion, M. Naville attributes to his opponents, one would upon the whole prefer the Hiph'il of נגד, even to the Pi'el of ספר, or to any other Hebrew verb.

The very distinction Professor Robinson makes between *savoir* and (I presume) *connaître*, illustrates the distinction that M. Naville intends to make between the naked declaration of a name, and the making known of a name in the sense in which a name reveals character. *Savoir*, upon the whole, is a word of poorer connotation than *connaître*. Yet one can say, "Je sais votre nom," if one simply means "I know what you are called."

Savoir, so used, has its analogue in M. Naville's sense of נגד. But just as in the Hebrew language נגד, in some of its parts, is almost synonymous with ספר, and even approximates to ידע in some of its parts, so also in the French language *savoir* becomes, in certain circumstances, nearly synonymous with *connaître*. In Segond's version of the Scriptures (Paris 1901), Jeremiah xxix. 11 is rendered: "Je connais les projets, etc." The same passage, in Ostervald's version (Paris 1901), is rendered: "Je sais les pensées, etc." *Cf.* also the two renderings in Jeremiah x. 23; Isaiah xlix. 26; Ezekiel xxv. 14.

May I, in another reference to the same general theme, say that it hardly does justice to M. Naville to say "that he does not seem to have asked himself any questions as to the origin of our Hebrew Bible." As a matter of fact, some think that he is only too precise in telling how the Old Testament was translated from Aramaic into Hebrew (e.g. pp. 115–116).

JOHN R. MACKAY.

ZECHARIAH V 5 f.

IN the *Revue Bénedictine* (1923), pp. 57–61, A. van Hoonacker writes on the vision of the ephah in Zechariah v. 5 f. The ephah measures the guilt of the nation, which involves them in exile to Babylon, and the two women personify the Jews thus temporarily banished. "Que les femmes soient au nombre de deux, ce pourrait être un détail accidentel sans signification spéciale. A la rigueur on pourrait aussi y reconnaître une allusion, soit au double élément des royaumes d'Israël et de Juda, soit, à considérer le royaume de Juda à part, aux deux tribus de Juda et de Benjamin qui le composaient."

LUKE III 1.

IN the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1923), pp. 16–19, Conrad Cichorius argues that Luke as a Syrian would naturally follow the Syrian reckoning, according to which the first year of Tiberius lasted only from the day of his accession, August 19, to October 1, so that the fifteenth year of Luke iii. 1, would begin with October 1, 27 A.D. Jesus would therefore be baptized in the beginning of the year 28 A.D. In the *Biblische Zeitschrift* (1922), pp. 54–65, Father Hermann Dieckmann dis-

cusses the various chronological arguments. He does not think that either Luke iii. 23 (*ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*) or John ii. 20 (*τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν οἰκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος*) yields any sure basis for determining the age of Jesus at His entry upon the Galilean mission. Dieckmann's date (*Klio*, xv., pp. 339–375) for the first year of Tiberius is 14–15 A.D. This would bring the opening of the public vocation of Jesus to a date not earlier than 30 A.D., and he defends this by arguing that *ὡσεί κ.τ.λ.* may cover a period up to about thirty-five years.

RECENT NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

A FOURTH edition of Nestle's *Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht) has been published, under the careful supervision of Professor Von Dobschütz. The plan of the book remains the same, but the contents have been enlarged and brought up-to-date. It is twenty-three years since the second edition was translated into English, and since then large additions have fallen to be made; the result is that we have practically a new book, which forms a valuable manual on the subject. The nearest approach to it in English is Sir Frederic Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. But this book is differently planned. It falls into two parts. The first (pp. 1–76) covers the history of the text, manuscripts, translations and printed editions. The second (pp. 77 f.) describes the materials and methods of textual criticism. Twenty photographic reproductions of original manuscripts are now added. One excellent feature is the series of references to the best literature on any particular point. A few pages are devoted to conjectures on the New Testament text; it is interesting, though not convincing, in this connexion to read (p. 142) the plea for *ἀκούσμασιν* in the text of Hebrews iv. 2, which is regarded as a "brilliantly simple" addition to *συγκεκερασμένους*. Professor von Dobschütz has produced a useful guide-book for students. Very little of importance has been missed, though we should like to have had attention called to some fresh views, e.g. like those of A. Pott upon the value of the Gothic version for ascertaining the Koiné text.

* * * * *

In a beautifully printed pamphlet, *De Evangeliorum Origine* (Rome: ex Officina Typographica Senatus Ioannis Bardi, 1923), Primus Vannutelli compares the linguistic variations in the synoptic gospels with similar variations in the text of the Septuagint. For example, *λέγειν* is followed by *τοῖς ὄχλοις* in Matthew xi. 7, and in Luke vii. 24 by *πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους*. So, Vannutelli points out, *εἶπεν* in Tobit vii. 2 is followed by the dative (B) and the accusative after *πρός* (C). Again, if Mark inserts *πάντων* (iv. 32), or *πασῶν* (vi. 33), this is paralleled by the Septuagint, which translates the same Hebrew phrase by *ἐπὶ πάντα Ἰσραήλ* (2 Sam. v. 3) and *ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ* (1 Chron. xi. 3). The Italian scholar appears to regard such phenomena as proving that the Gospels of Mark and Luke are variant versions of the original Hebrew gospel preserved in Matthew. What the phenomena prove, of course, is that such synonyms or varieties of idiom were common; the synoptic problem is far too serious to be solved on the lines of this simple hypothesis. The idea that the records of Chronicles supplement those of the earlier historical books, for example, and that this is a parallel to the differences between the content of Matthew on the one hand and of Mark and Luke upon the other, is not tenable. Apart from the mistaken theory, the pamphlet contains some useful linguistic data, though most of them are already known and weighed.

* * * * *

Professor A. T. Robertson, who is well known in this country for his large Greek grammar of the New Testament, issues *A Translation of Luke's Gospel* (G. H. Doran, New York: 2½ dollars), intended "to preserve, as far as practicable, the delicate nuances of the Greek idiom." For the benefit of Greek students, he has added a number of simple notes at the end, which will assist beginners to understand the original. This would be a useful book for elementary classes, and the version itself has an appeal to the English reader. Dr. Robertson, for example, renders Luke x. 30–36 thus: "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho and he fell among robbers, who after both stripping him and beating him went off leaving him half dead. Now by chance a priest was going down by that road, and on seeing him he passed by on the other side. So likewise a Levite came down to the place and on seeing him passed by on the other side. But a Samaritan, being on a journey, came down upon him, and on

seeing him took pity on him. So he came to him and bound up his wounds, pouring oil and wine upon them. Then he mounted him on his own beast and brought him to an inn and took care of him. On the morrow he drew out two denaries and gave them to the innkeeper saying: 'Take care of him, and whatever you spend in addition I will repay you when I come back.' Which of these three men seems to you to have acted as neighbour to the man who fell among the robbers?"

REVIEWS.

Jeremiah. Being the Baird lecture for 1922. By George Adam Smith. Hodder and Stoughton, 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

This new book, by Sir George Adam Smith, will receive a warm welcome from his many admirers. All his well-known characteristics are found here in full measure—a burning enthusiasm for his subject, an illuminating use of geography and history, a fine appreciation of the prophet's literary style, and a wealth of telling phrase and eloquent exposition all his own. The power and beauty and meaning of the many "oracles" of the Book of Jeremiah will be learned for the first time from this Baird lecture by a multitude of English readers. It is a book that makes the prophet live again, before us.

In four of the eight chapters and in part of a fifth, amounting to rather more than one-third of the whole volume, the theme is the man, his message, and the literature in which his message is enshrined. The remaining chapters treat Jeremiah's prophetic utterances historically in three groups, in connexion with the reigns of Josiah, Jehoiakim and Zedekiah.

For the personality and moods of the prophet, and for his attitude towards God and man, full use is made of the remarkable pasasges sometimes referred to collectively as "the confessions of Jeremiah." In a special chapter devoted to these the prophet is described as being "of a quick temper, both for love and hate." The irony and scorn and vituperation which he pours on his enemies and opponents are proofs of a passionate nature. In the face of great difficulties he sometimes swerved from his task, but only for a moment, because he possessed a

deep-seated strength, which rested upon the sure knowledge that he was a consecrated instrument of the divine will.

One of the most attractive chapters in the book is that upon the prophet as poet. "He had the poet's heart for the beauties of nature and domestic life." His oracles are filled with imagery drawn from his own observation. He might have been Israel's greatest poet, but for the absorbing prophetic ministry laid upon him. The metres or rhythms he employs are many and are reproduced, as nearly as possible, in numerous translations. These translations are one of the sure guarantees of the popularity of the book, even though some may feel that the use of rare English words in them has been carried to excess. "Rede of the Lord," for *ne'um Yahwe*, may be understood from its frequent repetition (? = counsel, or direction, of the Lord), but how many will understand "fere" in "as a woman is false to her fere," though the word is Shakespearean and has been used by a previous translator of Jeremiah? Many footnotes indicate the sources and nature of the corrections made by the translator on the Hebrew *textus receptus*. Yet some corrections are introduced without note and sometimes the rhythm of the English is made smoother than that of the original without remark.

On the disputed question of the value of the prose passages in the Book of Jeremiah, Sir George Adam Smith argues for the common-sense view that we must not rule out the possibility of prose composition by the prophet himself, and that there may be genuine reports of prophetic speech in prose dress, just as there may be spurious sections amongst the passages of metrical structure.

The religious thought and achievement of the prophet are set forth especially in the two closing lectures. Several original contributions of the prophet in the sphere of theology are named (p. 364). One is the representation of God as pained by the sins of men, as well as wrathful against them. Again, Jeremiah was "the first in Israel to realise the independence of the single self in religion" (p. 341), and "personal piety in later Israel largely grew out of his spiritual struggles" (p. 5). In the great passage that expresses Jeremiah's conception of the New Covenant (ch. xxxi. 31–34) he approaches very near to Christianity itself. He is "the supreme example under the Old Covenant of the sacrifice of ... self for others" (p. 341). In his life "he fore-

shadowed, as far as mere man can, the sufferings of Jesus Christ for men, and this is his greatest glory as a prophet" (p. 349). The question is put whether the prophet was conscious of suffering for the sins of others, and the answer given is that "he must have been very near so high a consciousness" (p. 345). He was, in fact, a "real substitution" and a "vicarious offering for his people" (p. 347). In short, there is no greater and no more influential personality than Jeremiah in the records of Old Testament religion.

Of the well-known historical problems connected with the early period of Jeremiah's ministry, Sir George Adam Smith treats most fully of the prophet's relation to Deuteronomy. He finds in xi. 1–14 and viii. 8–9 direct references to Josiah's reformation and the Book of Deuteronomy, and he draws the conclusion from these passages that the prophet championed the ethical principles of the Deuteronomic movement, but repudiated its representation of sacrifice as being divinely ordained (cf. vii. 21–23). The pages devoted to this subject are stimulating and suggestive, although other relevant material might have been included (e.g. iii. 21–25, and iv. 3–4), and the relevancy of xi. 1–14 and viii. 8–9 cannot be regarded as fully established.

Another much discussed problem is whether the enemies spoken of in chs. ii.–vi. are Scythians or Babylonians. The lecturer, without much argument, accepts the view that they are Scythians. It may, on the contrary, be argued that the descriptions fit the Babylonians better than the Scythians and that presumably all the passages in these chapters are of later date than the alleged Scythian invasion, since the only passages that can be decisively dated are so. The whole Scythian hypothesis rests upon a precarious statement by Herodotus and upon an unwarranted trust in the accuracy of the date given in Jeremiah i. 2 (and xxv. 3) for the beginning of the prophet's ministry. The crucial question is whether or not Jeremiah's ministry began in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. The reviewer agrees with Winckler in holding that the date must be put at least ten years later.

It is instructive to note that while these lectures were being printed, important new evidence regarding the history of the period became available. Every history of Old Testament times soon needs revision. Happily, the interpretation of the spirit of

the prophet Jeremiah and the exposition of the principles of his message given in this Baird lecture will long retain their value, independent of such revisions.

W. B. Stevenson.

* * * * *

Apollinarianism, by C. E. Raven, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 12*s.* 6*d.*), is a very able defence of the thesis that "Apollinarius can only be condemned by those who are prepared to allow that the whole Greek school from Justin to Leontius and John of Damascus is similarly at fault, since the divergences between them and the heresiarch are merely verbal and superficial" (p. 297). It is a mistake to suppose that there was little or no formulated thought on the nature of the Incarnate till Apollinarius wrote; the error for which he was condemned was common property a hundred years before. The weakest point in his doctrine was the notion that the human mind is necessarily evil and therefore cannot have belonged to Christ, but the danger of just such a view haunted the Logos-Christology from the first. No Greek "would have hesitated for a moment to endorse the Apollinarian doctrine that the Logos took in [Christ] the place of the rational soul in us" (p. 18). It must be said that Dr. Raven makes out a strong case. In the course of proof he brings out afresh the Bishop of Laodicea's extraordinary powers, in pure theology of course, but also in exegesis. "He rejected wholly the methods of the Alexandrians, insisting that both Old and New Testaments must be taken in their simple and literal sense" (p. 157). This of itself is arresting.

Among the predecessors of Apollinarius, Origen and Athanasius are dealt with fully. A debased Origenism had come to pervade the East, with an idea of God half-pagan in its assumption that the fundamental quality of the Divine is "Uncaused Being." Once deity had been defined negatively as the sheer opposite of humanity, Incarnation became unthinkable. Hence the Origenists had to condemn Paul of Samosata, yet could not but be wrong themselves, sharing as they did his thought of God and man. Athanasius, to whom man is often mere "body" or "flesh," is an Apollinarian at heart; "Christ is still the Logos, not a man, nor even in any true sense man" (p. 114). And to Hilary neither the soul of Christ nor His body was human.

The two Christologies of which Apollinarius was a lifelong foe

were the Syrian and the Antiochene, the school of Antioch being his main objective. Using a tripartite psychology, and regarding Antioch as unfaithful to the basal tenet of the union of God and man in Christ, he sought for a reason of Antioch's fatal dualism, and naturally placed it in the ascription to Christ of a human mind or spirit. As he wrote : " Two separate principles of mind and will cannot dwell together without one striving against the other." For the same reason he cannot rest content with Cappadocian orthodoxy. Like Athanasius, he has a strong sense of sin, and to him a truly human mind must be, and is, sinful. " It is his insistence on the sinlessness of the Saviour and his belief that such sinlessness is incompatible with the possession of a human and therefore sinful mind, that drives him to reject belief in the perfect manhood of Jesus " (p. 184). Thus his denial to Christ of a human spirit was quite intentional. Dr. Raven rejects, for impressive reasons, Dorner's familiar view that for Apollinarius the Logos stood for, or included, archetypal manhood. And he urges that at bottom he does not differ from Athanasius or Cyril, " or those moderns who have adopted the formula " impersonal humanity " as an orthodox substitute for his denial of a human mind " (p. 200). It is in his critical defence of this reading of Christ's person that Apollinarius chiefly reveals gifts which lead Dr. Raven to call him, with some justice, " the finest and most typical product of Christian Hellenism." We pass over a deeply interesting section on the Apollinarian doctrine of kenosis.

Although ready to allow that Apollinarius brought on himself charges of unintended heresy by his incautious use of terms, Dr. Raven will not hear him called the father of Monophysitism. He does not use φύσις in the later sense. But his ideas of God and man, and their relations to each other, were too Greek to be right or Christian. For him, too, they are eternal opposites. The human mind is not necessarily evil, and as Gregory Nazianzen pointed out, his argument that two perfect natures cannot become one is physical, not spiritual. Like others before and around him, he conceived Christ docetically as Godhead in an envelope of flesh. We must get back to an older tradition, to the Gospel facts of which Theodore of Mopsuestia, with whatever shortcomings, strove to take account.

The book is full of vivid strength as well as of documented

precision, and it can hardly fail to make a deep mark. I have been unable to refer to many luminous and careful discussions of disputed writings, such as the letter to Epictetus. Light is cast on the personal relationships which mean so much for the student of the Fathers. The sketch of Gregory of Nyssa does not err on the side of mercy. Dr. Raven is prepared to differ from Dräseke, Voisin and Lietzmann, even when they speak with one voice, but he has, of course, high praise for Lietzmann's work. It is long since we have had in English so frank or valuable a study in patristic thought. Some things that needed to be said have now been said and backed by proof. Might not the index be expanded in a second edition to contain references to subjects as well as names? We should then be able to find easily what Dr. Raven has so well said on the Christian Greek idea of God, or his clear explanations of *οὐσία*, *ὑπόστασις κ.τ.λ.*

H. R. Mackintosh.

BAHAISM.

Baha'u'llah and the New Era. By I. E. Esslemont, M.B., Ch.B., F.B.E.A. Pp. 236. Price 8*s.* 6*d.* Allen and Unwin.

Unity Triumphant: The Call of the Kingdom. By Elizabeth Herrick. Pp. 222. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

The aim of these two books is to give English readers an account of a movement within Mohammedanism for religious and social reform, which attracted some attention in the Western world in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and, for reasons which will be explained, has excited a more wide-spread interest within the last twelve years. The birthplace of this movement is Persia, where the majority of the Mohammedans are Shiites whose ideals are in many respects different from, and antagonistic to those of the Sunnites, who are the predominant section of the Mohammedan world, and claim to be the only "orthodox" Mohammedans. The Shiites have been distinguished by their susceptibility to Sufism—the religious mysticism which is not the natural expression of the Deism of the "orthodox" Mohammedans. Amongst the Persian Shiites we are told that in the early part of last century there was a small sect—Shaykhis

—who were greatly interested in the possibility of the imminent advent of a prophet whose divine message would be guidance for their troublesome days.

In this sect of Persian Shiites the new movement for religious and social reform had its starting-point. The three great personalities of the movement are the Bab (1819–1850), Baha'u'llah (1817–1892), Abdu'l Baha (1844–1921).

The Bab (the Gate) was in his 25th year when he openly declared himself in 1844 to be a special messenger sent from God. Only, he insisted that "he was but a forerunner sent to prepare the way for one greater than himself, who was to come after him." By the saintliness of his life, his brotherly love and courage, he drew to himself many devoted followers, but he was opposed and hated by the great body of the Shiite Mohammedans. That was inevitable, for he was advocating reforms which were plainly inconsistent with the Koran, and in claiming to be the "Primal Point"—the recipient of a new divine revelation, the focus to which all preceding dispensations converged—he was denying the supreme authority of Mohammed. The unflinching courage with which he and his followers faced the storm of persecution only served to win additional followers. In 1850 the Bab himself was put to death in his thirty-first year.

More important than the Bab is Baha'u'llah (the Splendour of God). He was an early and devoted follower of the Bab. As a result of the attempt of a follower of the Bab to assassinate the Shah (1852) the Babis (as his followers were called) were cruelly persecuted by the authorities. They were not responsible for the insane deed of one of their number, but many of them were put to death after being horribly tortured; and many more were thrown into prison, and amongst them Baha'u'llah. After his release Baha'u'llah spent some years as an exile in Mesopotamia, and by his oral teachings and by his writings came more and more to be regarded as the centre of the new movement. In 1863 the Turkish Government, at the request of the Persian Government, issued an order summoning him to Constantinople. Before starting from Baghdad for Constantinople and the imprisonment which awaited him there, he announced to his followers that he was the one whose coming had been promised by the Bab—the "Manifestation of God"

for all mankind. " The fullness of time had come and with it the promised deliverer." From that time onwards to his death in 1892, he was for the most part a prisoner, first in Constantinople and Adrianople, and then for many years at Acre in Palestine, where his imprisonment was often little more than nominal. Here he had various opportunities of carrying out his mission by talks with friends and numerous visitors from far and near, and by letters and other writings.

In the course of a talk in 1890 with Professor E. G. Browne, professor of Arabic in Cambridge, he said that what he aimed at was " that all nations should become one in faith, and all men as brothers ; that the bonds of affection and unity between the sons of men should be strengthened ; that diversity of religion should cease, and differences of race be annulled. . . . Let not a man glory in this, that he loves his country ; let him rather glory in this, that he loves his kind." He believed that as the supreme " Manifestation of God " he was chosen by God to bring to their completion all previous divine revelations ; that as Jesus carried to its fulfilment the revelation given to Moses, and Mohammed carried to its fulfilment the revelation given to Jesus, so he, as Baha'u'llah, was carrying to its fulfilment the revelation given to Mohammed.

Abdu'l Baha (servant of Baha) is better known to the Western world than the Bab or Baha'u'llah. He succeeded in interesting the Western world in this new movement in the Mohammedan world. He was the eldest son and devoted attendant and helper of Baha'u'llah. By the last will and testament of his father he was " constituted his father's representative and the expounder of his teachings, and the family and relatives of Baha'u'llah, and all believers were instructed to turn to him and obey him." Abdu'l Baha spent most of the thirty remaining years of his life (he was forty-six at the time of his father's death) at Mount Carmel and its neighbourhood, carrying on the work which had been entrusted to him by talks, letters, and writings. From 1901 to 1908 he was more or less a prisoner under the Turkish Government. Through many visitors from the West he came to have greater knowledge of Christianity than his two predecessors, and a greater interest in Western civilisation. In 1911 he visited London and Paris and addressed various gatherings. In 1912 he spent seven months in America, where he

addressed " all sorts and conditions of men—University students, Socialists, Mormons, Jews, Christians, Agnostics, Esperantists, Peace societies, New Thought clubs, Women's Suffrage societies, etc.—and spoke in churches of almost every denomination." In 1912–1913 he addressed meetings in Liverpool, London, Bristol and Edinburgh, and visited Germany and Austria. In 1920 there was conferred on him at Haifa a knighthood of the British Empire. A year later he died, and the extraordinary gathering of people of different races and religions at his funeral on Mount Carmel testified to the impression which had been made by a brave and joyous life, inspired by devotion to God and to the service of humanity. " To be a Baha'i (i.e. a follower of Baha) ", said Abdu'l, " means to love all the world ; to love humanity and try to serve it ; to work for universal peace and brotherhood." " The more we love each other the nearer we are to God." " The lovers of mankind, these are the superior men, of whatever nation, creed or colour they may be."

A movement within Mohammedanism, which lays so much stress on love and unity, may well elicit a sympathetic interest. Its affinities are with Christianity rather than with orthodox Mohammedanism. At many points the teaching of Bahaism is plainly incompatible with the Koran. It forbids polygamy, it claims for women equal rights with men, equal privileges and equal opportunities. It denounces the use of force in the propagation of religion, and the " holy war." It goes still further ; it explicitly denies, by its acceptance of Baha'u'llah as the supreme " manifestation of God," the finality and authoritativeness both of the Koran and of Mohammed. What will be its ultimate effect on Mohammedanism it is not easy to forecast. It has aroused fierce hostility, but it has made progress in Persia. " The lowest estimate," says Lord Curzon in *Persia and the Persian Question*, " places the present number (in 1892) of Babis in Persia at half a million. I am disposed to think, from conversations with persons well qualified to judge, that the total is nearer one million. They are to be found in every walk of life, from the ministers and nobles of the court to the scavenger or groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Mussulman priesthood itself " (quoted by Dr. Esslemont, p. 216). Were Bahaism to gain ground in other Mohammedan countries as it has done in Persia, Mohammedanism, stripped of

that fixed character, which is to-day a fatal barrier in the way of religious and social progress, would be capable of coming to a better understanding and appreciation of Christianity.

Whether or not it is from despair of exercising much influence on the Mohammedan world outside Persia, the Bahaists, under the guidance of Abdu'l Baha, have been turning their attention to the Western world and its Christianity. They have more knowledge of Christian civilisation than the ordinary Mohammedan ; more knowledge of the teaching of Jesus, and a higher appreciation of His spiritual greatness. But in the appeal they are making to Christian peoples to come under the banner of the last and greatest of the revealers of God they are letting themselves be led astray by illusions. Mohammed was not, as they believe, a continuator of the mission of Jesus. He may have been a beneficent reformer for the idolatrous tribes of Arabia, but his outward success in Arabia and elsewhere was largely due to his denial of the ideals of Jesus—unconscious denial, it is true, for he had scant knowledge of Jesus and His ideals. Bahaists may urge that, like Mohammedanism, Christianity is suffering to-day from the " dead hand " of the past obstructing religious, social and intellectual progress. It may be granted that what the Christian Church, in the course of its history, has laid down as final and authoritative has too often proved to be an obstacle to progress in subsequent ages. But Christianity has no need, as Mohammedanism has, of a new prophet to deliver it from the power of the " dead hand." It has but to return to its Founder. It did not start, like Mohammedanism, with a once for all given system of doctrine, Church government and worship. It started with the personality and ideals of Jesus. It is essentially the spirit of life in Christ Jesus and in the spirit of life in Christ Jesus we have ideals of love and unity, of the brotherhood of man, and of service to humanity surpassing the ideals which Bahaists claim to be a new revelation of God through their new prophet. And, let it be added, the Bahaists are already preparing the way for imposing the " dead hand " of the past upon subsequent generations : so enmeshed are they still in the toils of the old Mohammedan ways of thinking. There is to be a universal (international) assembly of Bahaists, and " that which this body, either unanimously or by a majority,

doth carry, that is verily the truth and purpose of God Himself." So writes Abdu'l Baha in his last will.

Dr. Esslemont's book is a competent bit of work. In the winter of 1919–20 he spent two and a-half months on Mount Carmel as the guest of Abdu'l Baha, who discussed the book with him and corrected three or four chapters. The whole of the manuscript was afterwards revised and approved by a committee of the National Baha'i Assembly of England. Dr. Esslemont writes as a convinced believer in Bahaism.

Miss Herrick's volume is less important than Dr. Esslemont's. It is sketchy and, as its title suggests, ecstatic. It is interesting as a disclosure of the mind of some Western people who acclaim Baha'u'llah as the greatest of all the prophets.

D. M. Ross.

* * * * *

Evangelism in the Modern World. Edited by two University Men. Thomson and Cowan. 2*s.* 6*d.* Pp. 127.

This little volume, which is an introduction to a series which the editors hope to issue dealing with various aspects of modern evangelism, is worthy of attention both on account of the importance of its subject, and the qualifications of its contributors. "Evangelism," say the editors, "is at once the primary work of the Church and the most urgent need of the hour." And the contributors are worthy of the subject, for they are all ministers known throughout the Church for zeal and sound knowledge.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to attempt an adequate review of the whole contents of the book. We must content ourselves with indicating the salient differences between the new evangelism and the old.

I. There is a fundamental change in the use of the Bible. The older evangelism relied on "proof texts," the new evangelism concentrates upon the message of the Bible. "Man was not made for the Bible, but the Bible for man," writes Dr. Adam. The modern evangelist starts from man's need, and seeks to satisfy that need from the Word of God.

II. The older evangelism laid emphasis upon man's guilt. Its theology was theo-centric. It laid great emphasis upon the punishment of sin in the hereafter. The new evangelism ap-

proaches the question of sin from the psychological standpoint. It shows its disastrous consequences in the present.

III. The older evangelism appealed almost entirely to the individual. It offered him personal salvation, but laid too little emphasis upon his social obligations. In a provocative article Dr. Herbert Gray remarks, "People who describe themselves as saved are often found still full of revengeful feelings, and still believing in methods of force and violence in handling the world's affairs." The new evangelism is also addressed to the individual. It also offers him salvation from sin. But it gives to the word salvation a fuller and more Christian content. Conversion is a deliverance from the small world of self-centred interests. To enter the Kingdom of God means to enter into a new type of civilisation centred in God. The new evangelism seeks through the individual to transform society.

D. W. GREENFIELD.

* * * * *

Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy. A Study in Social Psychology. By William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D. Hodder and Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.* Pp. 223.

MOST essays towards Christian unity take as their starting point the Christian Society. They trace the history of its various branches, and suggest methods of conciliation by which corporate reunion might be effected. Dr. Brown's inquiry, however, starts not with society, but with the individual. It attacks the problem of unity by the psychological rather than the historical method. It asks, not "How did these ecclesiastical divisions arise?" but "What differences of individual religious experience do they express?" And this inquiry brings us face to face with the real difficulties in the way of reunion. For Christians differ not only in their beliefs, but, and quite fundamentally, in their attitude to the Christian Society itself.

W. S. Gilbert's ironical remark:

> That every boy, and every gal,
> That's born into the world alive
> Is either a little Liberal,
> Or else a little Conservative,

contains, with the necessary additions to meet the present political situation, a profound psychological truth. The real differences between parties, whether in Church or State, are

differences not of principle, but of natural temperament. Dr. Brown classifies Christians as being, in their attitude toward the organised Christian Society, either imperialists, or individualists, or democrats. By imperialists he means those "who believe they serve God best when they submit to the control of some existing institution, whose supremacy in the world they identify with the triumph of God's will." Of Imperialistic religion the classic example is, of course, the Church of Rome. Individualists are those "who despair of satisfaction through any existing institution, and find solace in immediate communion between the individual soul and God." Individualistic religion finds its most complete expression in the lives of the saints, and less fully in Evangelical Protestantism. The democrats are "those who are convinced that they serve God best when they discover His presence in other persons, and unite with them in the progressive realisation of the ideal social order which it is God's purpose to establish on earth through the free co-operation of man." Democratic religion has not yet found its classic expression, but evidences of it may be found in the New Theology, in the enlarging conception of Christian missions, and in the movement for Christian unity. Dr. Brown, as a good American, believes in democracy, and thinks that democratic religion is the religion of the future.

The author does not attempt to show how one Church can be made comprehensive enough to satisfy every type of Christian, but he believes that a frank recognition of our differences, and a surer certainty of the greater things we have in common, should make co-operation easy. "We may still differ in much, and feel bound to defend our differences, but we shall differ as fellow-disciples and as fellow-worshippers."

D. W. Greenfield.

* * * * *

Étude sur Joseph de Maistre, par S. Rocheblave. Librairie Istra, Strasbourg and Paris (pp. 49).

Professor Rocheblave, of Strasbourg, has celebrated the centenary of the death of Joseph de Maistre by a witty and penetrating study of his mental character. Like greater men, de Maistre has sorely suffered in reputation from the passing of time, and many of his opinions now seem preposterous; but

the man himself stands out as of genuine interest, with his prejudices of blood and education all exasperated by the challenge of the French Revolution.

From first to last he was possessed by two fanaticisms—for France under its legitimist kings, and for the Roman Church under its Supreme Pontiff; and he was confronted by two great enemies—the French Revolution and the spirit of the eighteenth century, that spirit of question to which nothing was sacred. His twofold faith was essentially one, for the Bourbon kings ruled by right divine. "Man does not create for himself an institution or a law or a king, he receives them from God. The production of kings remains as one of those mysterious phenomena in which we are forced to adore the Almightiness of God." The throne is supported, not by argument or by appeals to justice, but by two men who both work by shedding blood—the soldier and the executioner, for God-given authority has no need of reason. "When Luther loudly demanded sufficient explanations, he was not only a rebel, he was a fool; for no sovereign is ever obliged to give reasons to his subjects, or the whole of society would be dissolved." Thus, to de Maistre the Revolution with its universal challenge seemed to be the expression of a "Satanic principle," for in its affirmation of the rights of man it ignored the rights of God.

De Maistre said of himself that God had made him "not to act but to think," and when he applies abstract theological ideas to political societies no consideration of what is practicable is allowed to intrude. "The Pope's supremacy is the capital dogma and everything else is merely accessory." Absolutism, both in religion and in politics, is thus the last word. No wonder Rocheblave describes de Maistre's faith as "the Christianity of the Terror; an inhuman Divinity presses down upon a passive race of men, everywhere as Jehovah, never as 'Our Father!'" And even more remorselessly he says again, "Only three things are lacking in the Christianity of de Maistre: the first is Christ, whom one meets with nowhere; the second is His ethic of love one to the other; and the third is His spirituality. . . . He never understood that hearts are subdued not by force of decrees but by the power of tenderness."

W. M. Macgregor.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

My Religion. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co. Bombay. 3 rupees.

A SERIES of devout studies in the mystical symbolism of Parsism, by Jamsetji Dadabhoy Shroff. Thus, "I had lost my wife. . . . I prayed and contemplated in earnest. My study was not in vain, for the first ray of hope came to me through the sacred flames. I learnt from the very gentle burning and evaporating of the sandal-wood, before it developed into the flame, the lesson of patience which we were all likely to forget at the first touch of the ordeal." And so on. In the narrow gate of the fire-temple Mr. Shroff sees a symbol of Christ's saying, "I am the Door." He adds, "It's a narrow gate, entrance and exit in one; consciously or unconsciously it is so erected that the devotees may enter and come out shoulder to shoulder in one divine brotherhood." One of the touching features of his exposition of Zoroastrianism is this insistence on the inward and universal character of true religion.

* * * * *

Dr. Stanislav Schayer's *Māhāyāna Doctrine of Salvation* (London: Probsthain and Co.), which has been translated from the German by R. T. Knight, is a pamphlet on the ideas of salvation and theism in Indian religious thought. One outcome of Dr. Schayer's paper is a clear conception of how the Christian beliefs about sin and repentance are alien to the older Brahmanic religion, of how prayer is replaced by mystical contemplation, and of how Buddha became deified under the stress of religious demands. The pamphlet brings out the technical and complicated nature of Indian ideas on the subject, but Dr. Schayer lays bare some antinomies which are essential, and his pages leave us with a clearer grasp of the forces which lie behind the scholastic and popular theologies.

* * * * *

The outstanding merit of Dr. Carnegie Simpson's *Church Principles* (Hodder and Stoughton, 5*s*.) is that it is incisive and at the same time sympathetic. It contains what the author modestly describes as a set of notes upon fundamental issues,

elicited by his experiences upon a committee for Church Re-union. In seven chapters he discusses such debated questions as the nature and meaning of the Church, the sacraments, the ministry, and the Creed, from the standpoint of an evangelical Presbyterian. The emphasis is laid steadily upon the Church as Christ's body, a vital part of the gospel. This involves some controversial matter, but Dr. Simpson is a master of good controversy, in the sense that he uses the difference of opinion in order to bring out fundamental issues which are sometimes obscured. Thus, on the vexed question of the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, he discourses sensibly: "I say unhesitatingly that it is in the evangelical Sacrament rather than in the sacrificial Mass that we have the larger and worthier conception of Christ's presence. It is a greater thought that He is present in the entire Sacrament than that He is located in the elements which are but a part of it. It is Christ who *speaks*, who *blesses*, who *breaks*, who *gives*. What these actions say and do, He really says and does. That is the Sacramental meaning of the Presence, and it is real as the acts themselves are." There is an equally frank discussion of the social function of the Church. Dr. Simpson shows that the "conversion of men is essential and primary in the establishment of the Kingdom, and is the definite and distinctive business of the Church." What, then, of the application of Christianity to life? That, he points out, is no business of the Church *qua* Church. "While the Church must, if it be like Christ at all, have its heart deep in problems of social need, and also has a right, in the interests of its work, to press ceaselessly for their alleviation, the position that the actual way of their solution is part of the programme not of the Church but of the civic authority is sound." He urges that the Church must press its members to take their social and civic responsibilities more seriously. Here, as elsewhere, the acute, fearless analysis of the situation is noticeable. There are few more Christian handbooks on the Church than this, and Dr. Simpson will help many people to have a clearer view of it than perhaps they thought possible.

* * * * *

In his recent Cambridge lecture on *The Teaching of the Old Testament in Schools*, Sir George Adam Smith proposed that teachers should reserve for higher classes "the whole period of the prophets, with its ethics and politics, its spiritual agonies."

Dr. Charles Knapp, in *Amos and His Age* (London: Thomas Murby and Co., 2*s.* 6*d.*), shows how this can be done. He prints notes of a short set of demonstration lessons to a boys' class upon the message and period of Amos. "We have wearied our children with the story of their kings to the neglect of their prophets," he remarks, in speaking of Israel, and so he sets himself to the task of explaining how Amos can be made intelligible and interesting to a school-class. He provides a graphic outline of lessons, with a note upon the method of teaching, and a serviceable bibliography. One of his valuable suggestions is that teachers must fill in the background of ancient history, especially of "the ancient civilisations of the East, which form the political environment and background of Israel's history. The usual time allotted to Scripture is not sufficient for this, and there seems no reason why these kindred subjects should not be dealt with in some other part of the school curriculum. It will soon be imperative to teach something at least to all elder pupils of the first 5,000 years of history." Teachers nowadays will find rich material in a book like the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and most boys could appreciate for themselves a little volume like Professor Myres' *Dawn of History*. These volumes may be added to what Dr. Knapp suggests for the purpose. He has the knack of teaching, and his small volume is a fresh, successful effort to vitalise the Old Testament text.

* * * * *

Canon W. H. T. Gairdner publishes another of his biblical plays, in *King Hezekiah* (S.P.C.K., 2*s.* 6*d.*), believing that this method has a legitimate and immediate appeal to many people. It is a tragedy in four acts, with a prologue in which we meet Shebna the scribe, "a florid man, with able, energetic face, but shifty eyes." The drama follows the biblical text; it is in prose, and has several effective scenes. Canon Gairdner appends some explanatory notes, for the benefit of the reader, which show how carefully he has read the cuneiform records as well as the Old Testament passages.

* * * * *

The First Six Centuries (S.P.C.K., 2*s.* 6*d.*) is a series of brief sketches by Dr. F. W. Vroom, compiled for the benefit of ordinary readers who are not likely to consult larger works upon Church History. It ends with the death of Augustine in 604,

after his seven years' mission to England. The arrangement is clear, and the book ought to be serviceable as an elementary primer. But Marcion should no longer be ranked among the teachers of Gnosticism, and, in describing monasticism, it would have been useful to show how the early monks and hermits went to the desert, not simply to retreat from an evil world, but to challenge evil spirits on their own ground.

* * * * *

Mr. Harold Anson's *Spiritual Healing* (University of London Press: 3*s.* 6*d.*) criticises the defects of Christian Science in a very appreciative and penetrating fashion, particularly the false antithesis of matter and spirit. In Christian Scientists, "who have not themselves been built up under the discipline of a Christian faith," one result is "that they are apt, through their belief in the non-reality of the material world, in some cases to sink below the ordinary level of honesty and charity in regard to material things." But Mr. Anson's book is positive and constructive. Its range is larger than its title suggests. He seeks to prove that spiritual healing means the healing of the entire personality, and therefore explains the meaning of God's revelation in Christ with its bearings upon prayer, health, and miracles. Mr. Anson gives a valuable statement of what healing means, in modern practice, and of how suggestion may be used by the Church to-day. Indeed, he presses for its use, though he does not approve of specially licensed healers. "Numberless people are to-day ill, and numberless people are receiving medical attention, and with little result, for no other reason than that there is no one who is able to give them adequate religious help, and many people are leaving the organised Churches because there seems to be no hope of such a treatment being given to them within their own Church." When so much loose talk about psycho-therapy and faith-healing is heard, it is useful to have a sane, responsible book like this. Mr. Anson is chairman of the London Guild of Health. He believes in cures; he has seen cures worked by faith in association with ordinary medical science. In these pages he gives a reason for his belief in faith-healing as a function of the Church of God.

CURRENT ISSUES.

In one of the newly published letters of Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, we come across the Scotsman exhorting the Englishman to read the Bible. "On the whole," Carlyle writes from Craigenputtoch, "it is the thorough *heartiness*, the intense and entire *sincerity* of the Bible, that makes it still the Book of Books. In no other Book is there the same quality in such a degree. . . . I advise you to persevere in reading the Bible (in *seeing* it, through all distances and disguises)." What Carlyle meant by "seeing" the Bible was particularly an appreciation of Jesus Christ. He comes back to this more than once. He was in one of his moods of intense antipathy to anything or anyone of the dilettante order, and this made him sensitive to the straightforward reality of Jesus. What he meant by "distances and disguises," he does not explain. Every age has its own. The distances between us and the Bible are not distances of time; they are distances of sympathy. When people feel that the Bible is far away from their modern life, it is not really because the Bible is so Oriental, but because the lines of their own life are so remote from the purposes of the Bible. They may be moving in regions of selfishness or hate or low comfort, where the Bible is out of sight. And as for the "disguises"? Well, Carlyle has a trenchant word to say about one of them. It is the misinterpretation of Jesus which he resented in some religious circles of his own day.

* * * * *

He felt drawn to a more vigorous Jesus than he found presented by the Church. "How different is that honey-mouthed, tear-stained, soup-kitchen Jesus Christ of our poor shovel-hatted modern Christians from the stern-visaged Christ of the Gospels, proclaiming aloud in the market-place (with such a total contempt of the social respectabilities): '*Woe* unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, *hypocrites*!'" This was the Jesus after Carlyle's own heart. He believed this to be the real Jesus, and he resented the "disguise" of the ecclesiastical drapery. It was

hardly a fair criticism. The Jesus who said, *Woe to you*! also said, *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden.* Renan was nearer the mark, some years later, when he remarked that no book had dried so many tears as the New Testament. But there was enough in the religious world of the day to justify Carlyle's petulant verdict. He was writing before the rediscovery of the historical Jesus, and then, as always, the very interest of the Church in Christ was apt to hide His real nature from the eyes of men. The impact of Jesus upon life, the disturbance He set up wherever His words went home, the demand He made for a new and trenchant estimate of human relationships—all this was not yet realised by those who were the official representatives of His religion in this country. What art had done in earlier ages, theology was doing then; it was in all good faith exaggerating the passive side of Jesus, till a protest was necessary.

* * * * *

Dean Inge's new book on *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion* has a chapter upon joy. He begins by asking, "Why did Christianity need a new word for *Joy*?" The answer surely is, that Christianity did not need a new word. Christianity apparently had to coin a new term for *love*. But the Church took over the old Greek word for *joy*. What it did was to transfigure it.

* * * * *

On the new content of the term Dean Inge has some pointed though rather obvious words to say. He distinguishes it from pleasure. He defines it as "the triumph of *life*: it is the sign that we are living our true life as spiritual beings." He calls attention to the truth that joy is bound up with achievement; it is the unselfish and dutiful who come by real joy. And so on. We are reminded that "mental depression is often the aching of an unused faculty," and that "joy will be ours, in so far as we are genuinely interested in great ideas outside ourselves." Sound teaching. For it is the good and faithful servant who enters into his Lord's joy. But we come to the end of the chapter, missing two truths.

* * * * *

One is, that joy in personal religion flowers at its best for those who are not isolated units. To rejoice truly means that one is

in fellowship with others. *Rejoice always* is a plural command. For to rejoice in God is more than to rejoice in what one enjoys personally at the hands of God. It is to be glad that such boons are common to others. It is even to thank God when others enjoy what is denied to ourselves. The analysis of the Christian experience throughout history shows that some of the most vivid and healthy forms of religious joy are bound up with the sense of worship or of mutual co-operation. Wherever a life withdraws from the responsibilities of the Christian fellowship, because it feels superior or fastidious, one of the vital sources of joy is dried up. The psalmist remembered how he *went with the multitude to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise.* The voice of joy is often a chorus, not a solo. At any rate, it will never rise from anyone who is content to regard himself as a pious particle. There must be the consciousness of a great common life shared with others, and provided by the one God.

* * * * *

The other truth is, that Christian joy requires a redemptive experience. If there is one fact about it more certain than another, it is the vital connexion of forgiveness and joy; what is shared by Christians is the saving power of God's love in dealing with their sins. Dean Inge's mystical Platonism misses this. But Christianity from the first has bestowed joy on men and women, mainly because they become conscious of a redeeming God. And wherever the sense of sin and pardon is ignored or undervalued, there is sooner or later a falling-off in joy. Christian, says Bunyan in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, "gave three leaps for joy, and went on singing." That was after his burden had fallen from him at the Cross. New Testament joy has the Cross behind it. Dr. Dale was acute in his criticism of Dean Stanley's faith. "The absence of joy in his religious life was only the inevitable effect of his conception of God's method of saving men; in parting with the Lutheran truth concerning justification, he parted with the springs of gladness." We need not call it "Lutheran," however. It is older than Luther; it is anticipated in the thirty-second psalm and in the fifty-first, and Christianity revealed it to the hearts of men. It is a joy to be forgiven by God; it is a joy to know how we are forgiven by God. No analysis of Christian joy embraces the fundamental facts if it does not include this central experience.

THE BEST TEN BOOKS ON THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

It will be well, before entering into the discussion of the best or most useful books, to adjust our minds to the great subject itself. In the study of the person of Christ two main questions are involved. The first is the historical question, What do we know of Christ? The second is the theological or philosophical question, What should we think of Christ? The first has to do with fact, the second with meaning or interpretation.

Of the importance of these questions concerning Christ there can be no manner of doubt. Its possession of Christ is the distinctive mark of our Christian religion, and the very substance of its claim to be the highest religion; and, accordingly, a true knowledge and estimate of Christ lies at the heart of the Christian apologia.

For the answer to the first question, What do we know of Christ? we turn, in the first instance at least, to the Gospels, which claim to furnish us with authentic records of His words and works. There, undoubtedly, we encounter a figure of superhuman dignity and power. He existed before the world was. His birth into the world was supernatural. He wrought miracles. He fulfilled prophecies. He rose from the dead. And in these things, according to the older apologetic, lay the evidences of His superhuman quality, of His divinity.

But the tendency in the newer apologetic has been to transfer the evidential emphasis from the external to the internal, and in particular to read in "the consciousness of Jesus" the profoundest message of His divinity. From the study of His consciousness, which reveals itself as superhuman or divine, we pass inevitably, as it is held, to our second question, How should we think of Christ? Here we enter into the domain of Christology proper, and face the theological problem of His person.

But the student of the person of Christ, however convinced of the truth of the Christian hypothesis of His superhuman or divine quality, should at the outset reckon with the fact that there exists a prejudice in the modern mind against such an hypothesis, and that this prejudice is reflected in certain modern schools or, shall we say? tendencies of New Testament criticism. However divergent these may be in their relations to each other,

they appear to be united in this respect, that they presuppose a merely or simply human Christ. On such a foundation no Christological structure can be, or need be, upbuilt.

The Christological problem arises wherever the historic Christ holds the central place in the Christian life as the divine redeemer or saviour. Wherever this is so, the Jesus of history is identified with the Christ of faith or experience. For the Christian Church is not the Church of the historical Jesus, nor is it the Church of the theological Christ; it is the Church of Jesus-Christ: as Professor Percy Gardner has said paradoxically, "it is built upon a hyphen." But so rigorously has the distinction between Jesus and Christ been pressed in the critical discussions since Strauss that it has become, for many, a dissociation rather than an association.

One school of modern criticism, if it may be so put, knows Jesus but not Christ; another school knows Christ but not Jesus. The first is named, not altogether fitly, the liberal school. It offers us its so-called historical Jesus (who is by no means identical with the Jesus of the Gospels, or even with the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels) as the true founder of the Christian religion, and faith in the living Christ it looks upon—or virtually does so—as an illusion. And its historical Jesus wears no spurious garland of miracle, no supernatural halo of mystery, but stands before us a purely human figure, no more if no less than the world's leader in religion and the herald of the true social order.

The second school to which I refer may be named from one standpoint the sceptical school, from another—a positive—standpoint the idealist school. It maintains (and this is its scepticism) that we know little or nothing about the historical Jesus; it maintains further (and this is its idealism) that the Christian religion is founded not upon the Jesus of history but upon the Christ-idea, which is the idea of a divine Lord and Saviour. This idea, it is affirmed, which is akin to the Hebrew Messianic idea, was current in St. Paul's time in the spiritual religions of the Græco-Roman world, and, principally through St. Paul, became associated with the name of a Galilean prophet called Jesus.

Personally I think that liberalism and idealism, in the sharp sense in which I have used these terms, each stand for a per-

manent element in our Christian religion, but they are extreme movements, and they do wrong to disjoin as they do the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith. In any case such a disjunction or dissociation dispenses with the need of Christology, inasmuch as the figure of Jesus is estimated only by human standards.

Nor, again, is there any real problem of Christology for eschatologism, as we may name a third contemporary movement of literary and historical criticism, which represents it as having been our Lord's mission to announce an apocalyptic Kingdom of God in which He Himself was to fill the rôle of Messiah. The so-called eschatological portrait of Jesus is probably truer in some ways to history than the typical or clear-cut liberal portrait, and it restores Jesus, so to speak, from the shadow-realm to which He had been relegated by the radical scepticism which goes hand in hand with idealism, but yet the " thorough-going eschatology " only succeeds in portraying Jesus as, at the best, little more than a religious enthusiast or mystic visionary, albeit great and vastly impressive. " He comes to us," says Schweitzer, " as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lake-side, He came to those men who knew Him not. . . . And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings, which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience Who He is."

Here, if you like, is " practical Christology," just as there is " practical Christology " discernible in the higher movement of the contemporary liberalism. But, as Canon Sanday once asked in this connexion, does not the language used of Christ by some liberalist writers require " a background of more orthodox doctrine " ?

Loofs is of opinion that the reason why the modern " Jesus-research " has issued in such contradictory positions as those of liberalism, idealism, and eschatologism is that it presupposes—naturally enough—a purely humanitarian figure, and he urges, as Canon Sanday does, that the presupposition should now be revised. It would need to be revised if we could trust the portrait of Jesus drawn for us by St. Paul and St. John, and even if we could trust the portrait in the earliest documentary sources for the life of Jesus, as these are embodied in the Synoptic

Gospels, where we find ourselves in contact with a self-consciousness surpassing human measure, based, apparently, on a sense of unique relationship to God. Instead then of turning from the historic Christ of the Christian faith and from the Christological task which He necessarily sets, we might well turn again to the enquiry whether the Jesus of history may not be identified with the exalted Redeemer known and adored in Christian experience from the beginning; in particular, to the enquiry whether the Jesus revealed to us in history does not "justify," as the late Principal Denney phrased it, the historical Christian faith as exhibited in the New Testament.

This brings me to the matter of the recommendation of books on the person of Christ. It will be evident from the foregoing that I should advise the student to consider in the first place the subject of the consciousness of Jesus, and to consider it in the light of modern critical positions, whether conservative or "advanced." This will bring him at once to the heart of our first main question, What do we know of Christ?

But before one adventures upon any portion of the great field of study opened up by the doctrine of the person of Christ, it would be well to make a survey of the field as a whole; and I do not think we could do better than place ourselves at this point under the guidance of President W. Douglas Mackenzie, whose article on Jesus Christ in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* was, in the opinion of the late Dr. James Hastings, himself, a model of what such a contribution should be.

The writer's aim is to portray Jesus Christ as the founder of Christianity, and he urges us to take the Christian hypothesis of a superhuman consciousness seriously. The first factor in the solution of the problem of the consciousness is the religion of Jesus, including the phenomenon of His sinlessness. Next to be considered are His conception of the Kingdom of God (which is a phrase no less constant upon his lips than the word Father), His functions as Messiah in relation to the Kingdom, and His special titles, Son of God and Son of Man. But the New Testament describes not only the unique personality of the historical Jesus, "at once human because it is conscious will, and yet more than human because it has invaded the course of human life from a range of conscious being and life above the human," but also the effect of His unique personality in the

rise of the Christian Church; and here the writer does well, before treating of the experience of the disciples after the resurrection of Jesus, to emphasise the importance of considering their religious experience before the crucifixion, which was the ultimate source of their belief in the reality of the resurrection. There follows a section on Jesus Christ as the supreme personal force in the moral history of mankind. The concluding sections are on the apostolic Christology of the New Testament, Christology in the early Church, and Christology in the modern Church, the last-named section terminating in a positive Christological statement. The whole constitutes an excellent introductory discussion, from a modern conservative standpoint, of the central theme of Christianity.

What now of a book dealing with the consciousness of Jesus? There are many good discussions of this theme in the Christological literature of the last two generations. Among the more recent discussions may be named those contained in works by J. Stalker, B. B. Warfield, C. F. Nolloth, J. A. Robertson, H. Monnier, W. Baldensperger, and W. Bousset, to name only a few writers at random. A. E. Garvie's *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* (2nd ed. 1908) has proved a useful book for preachers and teachers. E. A. Abbott's *Son of Man* is a mine for the scholar. But the book to which our introductory discussion has led us is—more than any other—J. Denney's *Jesus and the Gospel* (4th ed. 1913). For it raises the question whether the historical Jesus as He is revealed to us in the Gospels can "sustain" the Christian religion as it is represented in the New Testament. Before considering the self-revelation in the consciousness of Jesus, the writer puts his question in the special form, Can we accept the primary testimony of the disciples to Jesus as risen and exalted? He is persuaded that we can, and that the resurrection of Jesus is the guarantee of the historical Christian faith. On the other hand, the justification of the historical Christian faith lies in the self-revelation of Jesus, in whom, as Denney concludes, "we see a Person, who is not only equal to the place which Christian faith assigns Him, but who assumes that place naturally and spontaneously as His own." With such a conclusion as to the divine greatness of Christ the way is clear for the Christological enquiry proper, What should we think of Christ?

It is one thing, however, to hold the abiding Christian conviction that the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience are one and the same person (in which conviction the doctrine of His divinity is sufficiently conserved) another thing to formulate this conviction and to unfold its implications. There is but one Christian faith, but there is not, and never has there been, one Christology.

From the consideration of the testimony of Jesus concerning Himself we pass naturally to the Christology of the apostolic Church, as it is contained in the New Testament. The first section of Denney's work is relevant. He shows from an examination of the various New Testament writings that Jesus occupies throughout them the same " solitary and all-determining place " as is given to Him in the later Christian religion. But into the " speculative " Christology of the New Testament our writer does not here enter.

It may be that some, having travelled thus far, will be inclined to rest content. Not that theirs is merely a " practical Christology," but that while willing to make the affirmation of Christ's divinity (perhaps even in Denney's formula) they are not drawn to Christological theory, which is the theory of the incarnation. None the less the Christological task has occupied the Church since the beginning, and the Christological effort of the past merits at least sympathetic and reverent study.

It is difficult to name a suitable recent monograph on New Testament Christology. A book by J. Granbery appears to cover the ground, as also J. Weiss's *Christ: the Beginnings of Dogma*, but Weiss like Schweitzer surely under-estimates the contribution of Jesus Himself, and over-estimates the contribution of the apostolic Church. We readily turn, however, to the relevant sections of G. B. Stevens's well-known textbook, *The Theology of the New Testament* (2nd ed. 1906), where the balance is held between B. Weiss and W. Beyschlag, or, if we read German, to one of the more recent textbooks on New Testament Theology, such as P. Feine's (4th ed. 1922) or H. Weinel's (3rd ed. 1921), the first conservative, the second liberal. Perhaps a good way would be to study New Testament Christology in separate sections under the guidance of works like W. Morgan's on the Pauline Theology and E. F. Scott's on the Johannine Theology,

or of monographs like D. Somerville's or even S. Nowell Rostron's on the Pauline Christology.

Reliable guidance in New Testament Christology may also be found in general works on Christology. Here I would name and commend H. R. Mackintosh's *The Person of Jesus Christ* (1912 now in 3rd ed.) and acknowledge my indebtedness to it. Indeed if a young student were to ask me to name one, and only one, book on the person of Christ, I think I should name Mackintosh's. Partly because of the mediating or essentially conservative quality of the reconstructive statement (a useful quality in a work for introductory study), but chiefly because of its lucid and attractive presentation of the Christology of the New Testament and of Christological doctrine in history. I know no more useful guide through the tangled ways that led to Chalcedon.

As then we pass from the New Testament literature, where Christology is after all "theology held in solution," and not yet "precipitated" in a body of doctrine, we may still take Mackintosh with us. And who else ? Well, if we would follow out the process of precipitation from a yet closer point of view, and put ourselves at the same time in the hands of a great master, we should read the sections on Christology in A. Harnack's *History of Dogma* (E. T. from 3rd edition, 7 vols., 1894–99). It may be argued, however, that just as J. Weiss does not allow enough to the consciousness of Jesus in the initial period of Christology, so Harnack does not allow enough in the subsequent period to the mind of the apostolic age, magnifying the influence of Greek philosophy upon the formation of Christian doctrine. If then our sympathies are with the idea of the hellenisation of Christianity rather than the christianisation of Hellenism, we may be inclined to study the history of Christological dogma under R. L. Ottley, who in *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (2 vols., 1896) carries the history down to modern times. In any case Ottley's is a monograph on our subject, and it also embodies an able and scholarly treatment, from a conservative and traditionalist standpoint, both of biblical and of systematic Christology. Mention should also be made here of excellent works, smaller in scope, by J. F. Bethune-Baker and H. M. Gwatkin.

Readers of German may use, besides Harnack, F. Loofs

(4th ed. 1906), or R. Seeberg, who have also written standard histories of dogma, and they would be well-advised to turn for introductory study to Loofs's masterly article in Hauck-Herzog on ecclesiastical Christology to the Reformation.

I. A. Dorner's *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (E. T., 5 vols. 1863) is a monumental and standard book. It is a thorough piece of workmanship, broadly conceived, and repays consultation, but perhaps it is too elaborate to be included in our final list.

The theological or philosophical problem that was handed on from the apostolic to the catholic age was to associate the life of the historic Christ, unique in His redeeming and saving work, unique also in His self-consciousness, with the everlasting life of God Himself. Already in the inchoate Christology of the New Testament the lines of the whole development are laid down; and, more particularly, by the prologue to the Fourth Gospel, the way was prepared for the dogmas of the Trinity and the incarnation. At the Reformation the Chalcedonian formulas were accepted by the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and the doctrine of the "two natures in one person" became embodied in their respective Confessions.

But the doctrine of the two natures was a definition rather than an interpretation, and yielded in itself no positive solution of the problem. This was felt in the ancient Church, and the Christological controversies that followed Chalcedon are also reflected in the Reformation and post-Reformation era, in the disputes between the Lutheran and the Reformed Church theologians, and in the disputes among the Lutherans themselves. It was the era of the Lutheran development of the conception of the *communicatio idiomatum*, and of the development also in the Protestant Churches generally of the conception of the twofold state, both conceptions—that of the transference of divine and human qualities from one nature to the other, and that of the states of humiliation and exaltation—resting ultimately, of course, on Scripture.

A standard guide to the doctrine of the states or experience of Christ, which is of historical importance as the nidus of the modern kenotic theories of the person, is supplied by A. B. Bruce in his work *The Humiliation of Christ* (2nd ed. 1881). He not only traces the course of the Lutheran and Reformed Christologies,

and of the older Christology of kenosis which was designed to reconcile the two communions, but surveys the whole movement of patristic Christology in the light of the category of the states, and especially the state of humiliation. It was a somewhat novel procedure for a Reformed Church theologian to adopt, but it had the advantage of emphasising the ethical as distinguished from the metaphysical in the doctrine of the person, and thus of sounding a modern note. Readers of German may be referred to a more recent monographic treatment of the kenosis by O. Bensow (1903).

At this point I would name a helpful little book by W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern* (1910). It is not a book that will last long, but it makes, so to speak, a bright introduction to the Christology both of the ancient and the modern Church, and brings the discussion into the present century. That is why I name it here. W. Douglas Mackenzie and H. R. Mackintosh also guide us in the matter of recent developments. But there is room for a monograph in English, bearing the title of E. Günther's on the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ in the nineteenth century—and after. Such a work would do justice to Schleiermacher, Hegel, Dorner, Ritschl, Herrmann, and Kaftan, as also to Troeltsch and the liberal Protestantism of Germany, and at the same time take cognisance of the Christological movement in Britain, in great measure an outcome of the older kenoticism in Germany, but represented by names of solid worth such as C. Gore, A. M. Fairbairn, P. T. Forsyth, W. L. Walker, and D. W. Forrest; it would also take account in this connexion of F. Godet in France.

Having considered the doctrine of Christ's person historically, we come to the question whether we are to be content with the traditional answer to our second main enquiry, What should we think of Christ? It is the question, in other words, of our attitude to the Christological orthodoxy of Chalcedon, and it leads to the modern constructive or systematic treatment of the incarnation. In his Bampton Lectures on *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (1891) and his *Dissertations* (1895, a sequel) Gore stands by the Catholic tradition, at the same time giving hospitality to kenoticism. "On the doctrine of Christ's person," he says, "the historical Christian Church has committed itself beyond recall." Yet a light breaks across the statement when we turn to another

page: "we need always to distinguish the permanence, from the adequacy, of our dogmatic language."

The Catholic tradition is also stoutly defended by F. J. Hall in America, but he will have nothing to do with the kenotic theories; and I should like to make particular mention in this connexion of a striking work, called *The One Christ* (2nd ed. 1914), by F. Weston, which is an enquiry into the manner of the incarnation. Weston who refuses to rest upon the kenotic theories, assigns to "the universal sphere of Logos-activity" all the kenosis or self-limitation that was necessary for "the mediation of Christ's consciousness by His manhood." In speaking thus of "the mediation of Christ's consciousness by His manhood," Weston shows himself to be in line at least with the modern Christological effort in the Protestant Churches, which has been for the most part to overcome the dualism of the two natures in the interests of the dogmatic construction of the person. His standpoint is that of the high dogmatician, but the idea of "the one Christ" is also being urged upon us from the side of the historical criticism of the New Testament, as well as from the side of psychological theory, as by Sanday in his *Christologies*.

At this point I should mention a little book, also holding to the Catholic doctrine, which should appeal to the busy preacher. It is A. Wallace Williamson's Croall Lectures on *The Person of Christ in the Faith of the Church* (1920). The burden of the book is that the Church's original faith in Christ as at once Son of God and Son of Man is still worthy of affirmation, even though modern theology may be no more successful than ancient theology in comprehending it within the limits of a dogmatic formula. The doctrines of the supernatural birth and of the incarnation as a kenosis are viewed in the light of modern critical and theological positions, and the whole constitutes a reasonable statement, from the preacher's standpoint, of the traditional Christology, and a statement, too, characterised by force and clarity of presentation.

But in modern theology the traditional Christology is often rejected, even by those who like Ritschl acknowledge Christ as divine, or is held in modified form, as in H. R. Mackintosh's construction. Ritschl substitutes for the two natures in one person (a metaphysical conception which he cannot entertain) an ideal humanity in which God is perfectly revealed. And many

feel with Mackintosh that the formulas of Chalcedon, while not to be dismissed as merely metaphysical, fail to conserve the historic Christ as mediated to us in the New Testament. When the manhood of Christ is properly appreciated, the traditional doctrine of the two natures leads to a dualistic abstraction, and not to the concrete divine and human personality of apostolic testimony. On the other hand, when the unity of the person is properly appreciated, the traditional doctrine is unable to secure the integrity of the manhood, which—to avoid the impossible alternative of a twofold personality—is represented as impersonal, being taken up into union with the person (hypostasis) of the eternal Logos to form the historic personality of Jesus Christ. It is a further defect, it is held, of the traditional definition and interpretation of the Person of Christ that it does not make room for the New Testament sense of the enhancement of Christ's dignity by the resurrection; nor does orthodoxy in its Trinitarian formulas altogether meet the New Testament representations of the living Christ and the Spirit, which are practically interchangeable terms.

When modern theology advances to a constructive theory of the incarnation, it naturally seeks to relate the idea of divine incarnation to that of divine immanence, which latter idea is emphasised in modern theistic philosophy; and it may be led to affirm that the incarnate Christ is the absolute immanence of God, as experiencing that complete personal union with God which is the goal of man's spiritual life. This is to seek the divine-human Christ along the lines of God's normal working in humanity, and it implies an idea which though scriptural was largely foreign to the ancient Greek thought in whose terms Christianity expressed its convictions concerning the relation of the historic Christ to God. It is the idea of the affinity rather than contrast between the divine and the human. This idea is illustrated in the spiritual philosophies of our time, which are so often personalistic or humanistic in character, affirming as they do that the Ground of the universe is a personal self-conscious Will. With such a conception of God, which does not necessarily depend upon the validity of the personalistic approach to reality, and which is essentially a theistic conception, the Christian doctrine of the incarnation appears to be compatible. The personal self-conscious Will or Purpose, who is God, may not inconceivably

unite Himself with a finite spirit, and manifest through that finite spirit His own infinite redeeming Self.

Thus it is that the late Principal Caird could say, "In the person and life of Christ we can recognise a nature from which every dividing, disturbing element has passed away—a mind that was the pure medium of Infinite Intelligence, a heart that throbbed in perfect unison with the Infinite Love, a will that never vibrated by one faintest aberration from the Infinite Will, a human consciousness possessed and suffused by the very spirit and life of the Living God."

The quotation is from *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, and it leads me to a final remark under this concluding head of constructive or systematic exposition. We should not overlook the discussions of Christology in the general systematic works on Christian doctrine, such as—to name a few recent textbooks—those by W. Adams Brown, W. Newton Clarke, T. B. Strong; J. S. Banks, G. Frommel. In this reference I would call special attention to the able historical and systematic treatment of Christology (under which are included the person, the states, and the work of Christ) in F. A. C. Nitzsch's *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik* (3rd ed. 1912, edited by H. Stephan).

Now for the list of ten books, which, says the Editor, are to be chiefly monographs on the subject, or on portions of it. I should say that my selection is determined, in some instances, not so much by scientific as by dogmatic and practical considerations. I have put within brackets, as alternatives, some untranslated German books. Let me say again here, that I recommend President Douglas Mackenzie's article in *ERE* for introductory study.

A. *Christology in general* (*biblical, historical, positive*).

1. H. R. Mackintosh.
2. R. L. Ottley.

B. *Biblical Christology:* (*a*) *of the Consciousness of Jesus.*

3. J. Denney.
4. A. E. Garvie (a popular exposition).

(*b*) *of the New Testament Writers.*

5. G. B. Stevens (or P. Feine or H. Weinel).

C. *Historical Christology:* (*a*) *in the Dogmatic Development.*
6. A. Harnack (or F. Loofs).
7. A. B. Bruce (or O. Bensow).
8. A. Wallace Williamson (a popular statement).

(*b*) *in the Dogmatic Development and in Modern Thought.*
9. W. Sanday (along with Mackintosh).

D. *Positive Christology* (along with Mackintosh and Sanday).
10. C. Gore (Bampton Lectures and *Dissertations*).
11. F. Weston.

This makes eleven and not ten books, even counting Gore's two volumes as one book; but one of the eleven is largely a popular exposition, and another is a popular statement!

WILLIAM FULTON.

THE TEXT OF HOSEA.

IT will now be necessary to examine the passages in detail to see if there is any reason why any of them should be rejected from the text as later insertions, but we must first consider what class of persons (if any) would be likely to insert them, and why they should have wished to do so.

It has often been pointed out that of the supposed interpolations some, viz., i. 7, iv. 15, xii. 1, express a *favourable* opinion of Judah, the rest an *unfavourable* opinion. This fact raises some puzzling questions as to the supposed interpolator. It has been shewn above that in the actual historical circumstances in which Hosea lived it was possible for *him* to think of Judah in a favourable or an unfavourable light, according to which of two aspects was uppermost in his mind at the moment. But it is difficult to think that a Judean editor would have made insertions representing Judah in two varying lights.[1] In view of this difficulty Steuernagel[2] is driven to postulate *three*

[1] See König, *Einleit.*, p. 309. [2] *Lehrbuch*, p. 608.

editors, two for the insertions favourable to Judah after the defeat of Sennacherib and before Manasseh, the other who inserted the unfavourable touches after 586. The whole of the matter relating to Judah is so small in compass that it is impossible to believe in the existence of all these editors. If there are any interpolations at all, the view of Harper is far sounder that they must have been made in post-exilic days.[1] Jewish tradition, though by no means clear, points to this period as being that in which Hosea was received into the Jewish Canon. "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, *the twelve prophets*, Daniel and Ezra."[2] The word "wrote" (כָּתַב) used here can mean no more than "edited." The men referred to put into their present form and received into the national library the works specified.[3] The expression "the men of the Great Synagogue" seems to mean Ezra and the leaders of post-exilic Israel of whom he was the head.[4] The relations of these pious and exclusive men to the then inhabitants of the northern kingdom were very hostile. They refused to have their co-operation in building the Temple, and at a later time there was nearly a civil war between the two factions. Can it be thought that at a time like this the Jewish scribes, when they decided to place Hosea's book in the sacred library, would have taken the opportunity to interpolate in it denunciations and warnings of Judah as uttered by this prophet of the schismatical North? It is possible to think of them as inserting passages which represent Judah in a favourable light and the house of David as the ultimate rulers of a reunited nation. But it seems almost incredible that they should have gone out of their way to represent a prophet of Ephraim as

[1] Comm. p. clxii. [2] Baba Bathra, 55. 1. 3.
[3] Davidson, *The Canon*, p. 42.
[4] W. Bacher in *Jewish Enc.* art. "The Great Synagogue."

daring to rebuke the kingdom which in their view was exclusively the "holy seed" (Ezra ix. 2) and the real Israel. In their opinion Jahveh had rejected all the seed of Israel and cast them away from His presence (2 Kings xvii. 20). Were these Scribes likely to wish it to be thought that a prophet of this apostate and rejected race should have presumed to denounce the holy seed? Were they likely to interpolate his text to represent him as doing so?

We now proceed to examine the several instances of supposed interpolation.

i. 7. This verse has been more generally objected to than any other, the ground of objection being that it is a side glance and disturbs the connexion, or, as Valeton would say, it is "a marginal note." Cornell,[1] Steuernagel, Wellhausen and others think that it was inserted by a Jewish writer referring to the history of Hezekiah, and that it was interpolated shortly after the event occurred. But the difficulty about this view is that the language of the verse is very markedly that of Hosea. רחם is a favourite word of his, so is הושׁע, and the combination קשת וחרב ומלחמה occurs ii. 21, and סוס (in relation to war) xiv. 4. And the thought is that of Hosea; "the deliverance by Jahveh alone, not by the accustomed means of defence, is quite in the spirit of Hosea ii. 20, viii. 14, xiv. 4."[2] The sentiment expressed is suitable to the prophet's general position. As we have seen above, the Davidic monarchy and the imageless temple of Solomon did form a contrast to the rapidly changing succession of military adventurers owning allegiance to the Jeroboam calf worship (Hos. viii. 5, 6; x. 5 f.). Hosea might well feel that Judah had not sinned so deeply as Israel and therefore might be saved—not by war-like means, but through the Divinely approved dynasty ("through Jahveh their God," as Hos. iii. 5).

[1] *Einleit.*, 4th ed., 179. [2] Kuenen, *Einleit.*, p. 318,

His general complaints of kings (Hos. viii. 4, x. 3, xiii. 10, 11) do not apply to the Davidic kings of Jahveh's appointment.[1] But while regarding this verse as a genuine fragment of a Hosean discourse we regard it as out of place in its present situation. We shall shortly indicate its appropriate position.

ii. 1–3. This passage has been strongly objected to as a later insertion, not only because it breaks the connexion and because verse 2 mentions Judah (reasons which we need not further discuss), but on other grounds. It is thought to be outside Hosea's range of thought as indicating a return from Assyrian captivity.[2] The phrase "and shall go up from the land" has been construed to mean "shall return from the land of their captivity." We do not think the phrase can bear this meaning. הארץ elsewhere in Hosea always means "the land of Palestine" (i. 2, ii. 20, 23, 24, 25, iv. 1–3), and there is no ground for assigning to it any other meaning here. The phrase means, "they shall march out of the land to enlarge their territory" (as Am. ix. 12, Mic. ii. 12, 13).[3] There is nothing in this passage referring to captivity or return from captivity. But we think these verses have got out of place and that their true situation has been indicated by Von Hoonacker,[4] who arranges the verses thus :

ii. 4–25, i. 7, ii. 1–3.

So arranged it is not difficult to discern the prophet's line of thought.

In ii. 4 f. he portrays the punishment, the conversion and the restoration to favour of sinful Israel. Verse 24 ends with *Jezreel*, not as the place of vengeance (i. 4) but the place

[1] See König, *Einleit.*, pp. 308–9.
[2] Harper, Comm. p. 247 ; Wellhausen, Comm., p. 99.
[3] Cheyne, Cam. Bible, *Hosea*, p. 46.
[4] Comm., p. 10.

of the Divine Sowing. Then comes verse 25: "And I will sow her to me *in the land*, and I will have compassion on *Not compassionated*. And I will say to *Not my people* Thou art *My people*, and he will say *My God*."

What then is to follow? The prophet sees that the true hope of the situation is the healing of the schism which divides North and South, under a Davidic head, and this thought animates the rest of the oracle. In his usual abrupt way he turns to Judah (i. 7): "And I will have compassion (רחם, the word just used ii. 25) on the house of Judah, and will save them through Jahveh their God. And I will not save them by bow or sword or martial array (words just used ii. 20) or horses or horsemen." Then with equal abruptness he returns to Israel (ii. 1): "And the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which is not to be measured or numbered; and it shall be that instead of its being said to them *Not my people* (as *v.* 25) it shall be said to them *Children of the living God*." Now he turns to the happy national reunion, verse 2: "Then the children of Israel and the children of Judah shall gather themselves together and appoint for themselves one head, and march out of the land, for great shall be the day of *Jezreel* (as *v.* 24). This ominous word is the name of his firstborn son, and in poetic rapture he bids the youth pronounce the delightful new names, verse 3: "Say to your brother,[1] *My people* and to your sister *Compassionated*. So will you name them in the happy days which are to come."

Nobody but Hosea could have written these verses. No imitator could have combined in this unique way his diction, his ideas, his hopes, his abrupt transitions, and the touching side glance on his family life.

But there is an alternative objection that these words,

[1] We adopt the LXX. readings ἀδελφῷ, ἀδελφῇ.

ii. 1–3, are "an enlargement and correction of chap. i. added from the standpoint of the eschatological hopes of the post-exilic community."[1] This view raises some points of difficulty. Ezra and his group had no hope and no desire that the Jewish community should unite with the northern tribes. They had definitely rejected such an alliance. It is inconceivable that they should interpolate into the book of the northern prophet an oracle so opposed to their desires. Moreover, in the actual conditions of foreign rule, the very idea of such a union under a Davidic head with a view to extension of territory was outside their range of thought. Even more so would seem to be the aspiration of an illimitable increase of population to these hated neighbours. We can think of no post-exilic period when the thoughts of these verses, to say nothing of their diction, were likely to be formulated.

It should be noted that in Ezekiel, xxxvii. 22, there are distinct traces of the language of ii. 2.

We cannot see any reason why an editor should have inserted these verses, or why Hosea should not have written them.

iii. 5. In this verse it is proposed to strike out the words "and David their king" as a Judean interpolation. The same considerations as are applicable to ii. 2 apply to these words, and we have no doubt they are genuine. Cornill actually suggests that the interpolator took them from Jeremiah xxx. 9. All analogy points the reverse way. Jeremiah constantly quotes from earlier prophets (see Jer. xxvi. 18). That he quoted these words from Hosea is rendered almost certain by the fact that in xxxi. 12 he quotes from the *same* verse of Hosea.[2] There is also a clear echo of these words in Ezekiel xxxvii. 24, 25.

iv. 15. This verse is objected to because it mentions

[1] Marti. [2] See v. Orelli, Comm. Jer. *ad loc.*

Judah. As we have seen above, the latter part of this verse is made up from recollections of Amos iv. 4, v. 5, and viii. 14, not being an exact quotation from any of these places. We are then to suppose that the Judean interpolator, anxious to work in the name of *Judah*, and too poor of invention to compose a whole verse, collected what he remembered of Amos and made these echoes into his second hemistich. This is too artificial. It is easier to believe that Hosea, really anxious about Judah, and with the denunciations of the older prophet still ringing in his ears, wrote these words from the fulness of his emotion. We note his vocabulary in the words וגם and אשם. Even Harper accepts this verse as genuine.

v. 5. It is proposed to cut out the words "Moreover Judah will stumble with them." This passage can hardly be doubted when such critics as Wellhausen and Harper accept it as genuine. But we cannot help noticing Marti's view that "this passage betrays itself as a later insertion by the גַּם prefixed to it." We must confess that this particle has impressed us differently. It gives us a valuable glimpse into the workings of the prophet's mind. His main topics in v. 1 f. are the sin and the doom of Ephraim, but the thought of Judah suddenly occurs to him: "Yes —and Judah will fall too." Then he turns back to his main theme. This is quite the Hosean method "speaking by sentences":

v. 10, 12, 13, 14.

It is suggested that in each of these verses [1] some editor has struck out "Israel" and substituted "Judah." We see no possible reason for this except the theory that Hosea must not mention Judah. The oracle v. 9–15 is deliberately meant to include Judah (like Mic. i. 3–9). This is shewn by the use in verse 9 of the expression "the tribes of Israel," which Hosea

[1] In v. 13 we agree with Wellhausen and v. Hoonacker that יהודה ought to be *inserted* after וישלח.

never uses in any other place and which does not in any O.T. book mean the Ten Tribes only. The statement that the princes of Judah were like removers of landmarks is confirmed by contemporary prophets (Isa. v. 8, Mic. ii. 2). The general sense of the section is that it will be vain for Ephraim and Judah to have recourse, as they had done on former occasions, to the King of Assyria; it will not be in his power to remedy the ills which afflict them. Can it be imagined that a post-exilic editor would alter the text in order to transfer to Judah some of the guilt of the schismatical North ?

vi. 4. The above remarks will equally apply to the suggestion that "Judah" has been substituted for "Israel" in this verse.

vi. 11. It is proposed to strike out "Moreover, Judah, a harvest is appointed [1] for thee." It is remarked by Marti that this passage (beginning with גַּם) is to be judged as v. 5, and there is no need to repeat what was said there. But it may be added that the sentiment is that of Hosea, who three times (viii. 7, x. 12, 13) uses the verb קָצַר in the same typical way of a *moral* harvest. No Judean editor would have inserted these words.

viii. 14. It has been proposed to strike out most of this verse because it mentions Judah. Cornill, however, thinks it genuine, and Valeton and Wellhausen hesitate. It has a very strong claim to be Hosean in that it alludes to historical facts which happened in his day. Judah under Azariah-Uzziah did "multiply fortified cities" (2 Chron. xxvi. 10), a proceeding which Hosea could not but condemn as a dependence on material defence rather than on the help of Jahveh (Hos. i. 7, ii. 20, xiv. 4), and he quotes from Amos almost exactly that prophet's denunciation of *Judah* (Am. ii. 5). A post-exilic editor would not have chosen

[1] Reading שִׁית for שְׁחַת; v. Hoonacker *ad loc.*

this particular episode of history and founded upon it an interpolation to prove that Judah at this distant date was as bad as Israel. In fact the Judean Chronicler has nothing but praise for this period of Uzziah's career, and has no thought of such a condemnation as the contemporary prophet passes upon it. This verse *must* be Hosean.

x. 11. Marti suggests that "Judah between Ephraim and Jacob is certainly secondary." We do not see why. Ephraim and *Israel* and Jacob would be a more curious conjuncture. The order of thought seems to be, Ephraim first, then Judah, then Jacob as including both. Wellhausen accepts "Judah" here, and there is no room for doubt about the reading.

xii. 1. It is proposed to omit as a gloss "but Judah is yet known to God and established with the most Holy."[1] In this passage the thought of the prophet is directed to the stable, divinely recognised monarchy in Judah contrasted with the unhallowed dynasties in Israel, "They made kings, and not from me; they made princes, and I did not *know* [them] וְלֹא יָדָעְתִּי" (Hos. viii. 4). How different was the Jewish royal house *known* to God and *established* נֶאֱמָן (as 1 Sam. ii. 35, xxv. 28, 2 Sam. vii. 16, 1 Kings xi. 38, the same word Hos. v. 9). The עוֹד is significant. The Jewish royal house is still going on when those of Jeroboam and Omri and Jehu had one after another passed away.

The language of this passage is Hosean and the sudden transition of thought quite in his manner. It can hardly be supposed that a post-exilic Jew would make an insertion of this kind at a period when the rule of the "sure house" of David had passed away and Judah was subject to foreign lords.

[1] In the text רָד is meaningless. Aq. has ἐπικρατῶν = רֹדֶה, which is no better. LXX. ἔγνω, whence the text is restored . . . ויהודה עֹד יָדַע אֵל (Harper, Nowack),

xii. 3. Here again it is suggested that "Judah" has been substituted for "Israel." It is perhaps enough to adduce here Harper's remark on v. 5 that the prophet must sometimes be allowed to glance at Judah.

Reviewing these passages as a whole and considering the Hosean vocabulary, sentiments, and style of them, the allusions to contemporary history and to the prophet's family life, and the obvious influence of Amos; and noting their incompatibility with post-exilic Judean thought and feeling, we cannot think there is much besides an *a priori* theory to support the view that they are interpolations. And when we note the great divergence of critical opinion both as to the theory itself and as to its application in any particular case we close this part of our enquiry with little doubt that we have in these passages genuine contemporary words of Hosea.

W. W. Cannon.

(*To be continued.*)

MODERN NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM AND THE EVANGELICAL FAITH.[1]

Bishop Butler, in his preface to the *Analogy*, speaking of the decay of religion in his day, tells us that "it had come to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much a subject for enquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious, and accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule"! The same kind of language might be appropriately used to describe the attitude which prevails to-day among many

[1] A lecture delivered at the opening of Hackney New and Regent's Park Colleges.

New Testament scholars towards the Evangelical Faith. The general tendency in the more radical school of criticism —German and British alike—is either to ignore it or explain it away. There is only the slightest recognition of the great truths of Evangelicalism in Harnack's *What is Christianity?*. Pfleiderer and Wernle and Bousset and even Weinel fail to grasp their significance or attempt to minimise their importance. Foakes Jackson and Lake, in their reconstruction of the history of early Christianity, deny that there is any shred or vestige of the Evangelical Faith in the original deposit of truth that Jesus bequeathed to His disciples. Loisy, in a striking article which he wrote in the *Hibbert Journal* in 1911, sought to prove that the chief articles of the Evangelical Faith—the doctrines of justification by faith and regeneration or the new birth were an alien element not derived from the teaching of Jesus at all, but imported into Christianity from the Greek Mysteries. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his popular *Outline of History*, sums up a widespread opinion in the words, " What will be clear to any one who reads the Epistles side by side with the Gospels is that his (St. Paul's) mind was saturated by an idea that does not appear prominently in the reported sayings and teaching of Jesus—the idea of a sacrificial person who is offered up to God as an atonement for sin. What Jesus preached was a new birth of the human soul ; what Paul preached was the ancient religion of priest and altar and propitiatory bloodshed."

This statement of Mr. Wells is likely, as I have reason to know, to leave its mark upon the minds of the more cultured members of our Churches. For one man who has read Harnack or Bousset or Pfleiderer, I suppose a thousand have read the *Outline of History*, and many who have long since abandoned the belief in the infallibility of the Apostle Paul are prepared to accept without question the

statements of the modern historian as infallible truth.

The statement itself is full of the most glaring inaccuracies —unless indeed it be that Mr. Wells credits the Apostle Paul with the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews (and if he does that he puts himself out of court at once) for St. Paul never on any occasion whatever uses the categories of the priest or the altar in the interpretation of the doctrine of the Atonement. He very rarely employs even the language of sacrifice, and when he does it is quite uncertain whether he employs it in anything more than a poetical sense. And yet when we have eliminated the inaccuracies in which the statement abounds, it is impossible to deny that there is a residuum of truth in it, and that Mr. Wells has put his finger upon the real crux of the New Testament problem.

No one can read the New Testament without being conscious of the fact that it contains two great worlds of thought, or three, if we take into account the Book of Revelation. There is the world of thought that we get in the Gospels ; and there is the other world that is revealed in the Epistles. We can best realise the different ethos of these two worlds of thought by reading side by side the Sermon on the Mount and the first five chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. There could not be a greater contrast than that which exists between the simplicity of the ethical and religious teaching of Jesus and the complexity of the abstruse arguments and theology of the Apostle Paul.

It was, I think, Kinglake in his *Eothen* who said that he was always haunted by a nightmare. He saw before his eyes a map of the two hemispheres of the world side by side—just touching each other at a single spot. His task was to steer his vessel from one hemisphere into the other under the narrow bridge where the two came into contact,

and he was always obsessed with the fear that some day he would miss the narrow bridge and be swept over the side of the map into infinite space.

The problem for modern scholarship is to find the bridge that connects the two hemispheres of New Testament thought. But the problem is not altogether new. It was a puzzle—it was almost a nightmare—to some of the more conscientious of the old Evangelicals to discover that by the exercise of a little ingenuity they could find more proof-texts and arguments in support of their position in Leviticus and Judges and Chronicles that they could in the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel of St. Mark, and one of the later reformers went so far as to warn the Christians of his day against using so unevangelical a book as the Gospel of St. Mark.

I.

Now it must be frankly admitted at the outset that there are some types of modern New Testament criticism which cannot be reconciled with any form of Evangelicalism. If the portrait which Foakes Jackson and Lake draw of Jesus is true, there is absolutely no room for any germ of Evangelicalism in His teaching. And it is equally true to say that there are some types of Evangelicalism which cannot be reconciled with any form of New Testament criticism. It is most unfortunate for our enquiry that both the terms we are compelled to employ—"New Testament Criticism" on the one hand, and "The Evangelical Faith" on the other—are vague and nebulous phrases, and may each of them be used to cover the most divergent theories. There is no greater mistake that can possibly be made than to suppose that in the history of the Church the Evangelical Faith has always stood for a fixed and uniform and invariable body of doctrine. The very reverse

is the actual truth. Luther may be described as the father of Modern Evangelicalism, because it was the central doctrine of the Evangelical Faith which provided him with the lever that created the Reformation. But Luther's Evangelicalism was linked with a form of Christology—a sacramentarian doctrine—and sacerdotal practices which most Evangelicals to-day would repudiate with scorn. And between Luther and Calvin, the second founder of modern Evangelicalism, there existed upon almost every other question of doctrine the utmost difference of opinion. As things worked out in practice, there was almost as wide a gulf between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the Continent (both of which were formed to embody the principles of the Evangelical Faith) as there is between the Anglo-Catholics and the Free Churchmen of to-day. It was the same in the history of the great Evangelical Revival in England in the eighteenth century. The two wings of the Evangelicals—the Calvinist, the Arminian—were always at daggers drawn with each other. One would have thought that between John Wesley, the founder of the movement in England, and the author of the great evangelical hymn,

> "Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
> Let me hide myself in thee,"

there would have been the completest harmony and unity of spirit, and yet as a matter of fact they were always most bitter opponents and neither of them had a good word to say for the other. Toplady had a perfect genius for abuse. He described the chief ingredients in John Wesley's teaching as "an equal portion of gross heathenism, Pelagianism, Mahometism, popery, Manichæism, ranterism, and antinomianism, culled, dried and pulverised *secundum artem*, mingled with as much palpable atheism as could be possibly scraped together." Compared with the virulence of language such as this, the worst strictures on Peake's

commentary to-day seem soft and mild. I tremble to think what Toplady would have said about some of our modern scholars if he had been alive to-day.

Dr. Dale once preached a great sermon at the opening of Argyle Chapel, Bath, on "The Old Evangelicalism and the New," in which he sought to show the transformation that had taken place in Evangelicalism in his own lifetime. Among other points he showed that Evangelicalism in his day had emancipated itself from the old rigid Calvinism that had formerly dominated it—that it had now abandoned the belief in the eternal torture of the damned and that it had learned to lay greater emphasis on the Incarnation of Christ, since it was the Incarnation that explained the value of the Cross. And we may surely add to the statement of Dr. Dale, that it has now freed itself from the tyranny of the belief in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. Luther did the greatest possible disservice to the Evangelical Faith when he linked it up with his sacramentarian doctrines; Calvin almost destroyed it by his doctrine of Predestination; and those who in our time are seeking to bind about its neck an obscurantist view of Scripture are striking at its very vitals and dooming it for the intellect and conscience of our world.

Between the extreme form of Radical Criticism and the extreme form of narrow Evangelicalism no *rapprochement* is ever practicable, but it ought not to be impossible to find a bridge between a sane and temperate criticism and a sane and liberal Evangelicalism.

II.

Now let us suppose, merely for the sake of argument, that Loisy and others are right in their contention that the leading principles of the Evangelical Faith came into Christianity from the Greek Mysteries. What does that

imply? For one movement to influence another, there must necessarily be contact—and contact that is real and vital. It is not enough for us to assume that floating ideas out of the Mystery-Religions passed unconsciously into Christianity from the atmosphere of the age. Floating ideas would never have transformed the character of the Christian Faith. If the thought-waves that emanated from these Mystery-Religions had been strong enough to change automatically the teaching of Christianity, they must inevitably have left a far greater mark on contemporary religion and philosophy than the literature of the period reveals. The contact must have taken place in one of two ways. It is conceivable that the Apostle Paul and other great Christian leaders may have modified the Christian Faith in the course of the appeals which they made to the devotees of the Greek Mysteries. We know that at Athens Paul tried his utmost to meet the Epicureans and Stoics on their own ground. And though we have no record, it is impossible to imagine that he did not approach the members of the organisations connected with the Greek Mysteries along similar lines. "You initiates of the Mysteries," he must have argued, "are seeking for God and truth and purity, and above all else you are trying to find a guarantee of immortality. What you are vainly groping after in your Mysteries has been fully revealed by Christ; in His teaching you will find the answer to your quest." This is the kind of argument the Apostle Paul must have inevitably pursued, but the validity of it depended upon the fact that Christianity already contained a better answer to the religious problems than could be found in the Mysteries themselves. If Paul had made a bid for the support of the votaries of the Greek Mysteries by telling them Christianity contained the faith for which they were in quest (when as a matter of fact, if Loisy is

right, it did nothing of the kind), he would have speedily been found out and discredited.

But there is another way in which the contact may have happened. It is conceivable that numbers of the members of the Greek Mystery-cults may have been attracted by the new religion. They had tried many forms of religion in the past and were not satisfied with any of them. They may have been allured in the first instance by the novelty of Christianity, and they may have determined to try one more experiment in their quest for truth. They may have said to themselves, "We have not found what we want in the Pagan cults. The Greek Mysteries have done little but formulate the 'obstinate questionings' of our hearts. They have taught us the need of Communion with God, and a new birth—of some means of restoring purity of life—and they have given us a vision of immortality. But they have asked questions without answering them. They have stated problems merely to leave them unsolved. Let us see whether this new religion has anything better to give us." And so they made the venture, and the new religion proved not satisfying indeed, on Loisy's theory, in itself in so far as its faith had yet been worked out, but capable of a transformation which would give them what they required and what they could not get in their own cults. But what does this mean? It implies that they were able to find the great secrets for which they were in quest—the secret of the new birth, the secret of communion with God, the secret of immortality, in Christianity though they had sought for them in vain in the Greek Mysteries. It means that for them Christ had conquered Dionysius and that the Greek Mysteries were part of the great Divine *Præparatio Evangelica*. But in that case the truth for which they were seeking must have already been present in Christianity. They could not have put it

there themselves, they could not have imposed it on the Christian Faith. The ultimate problem is this, why did they find more in Christ than they did in Dionysius ? How is this that these converts from the cults were able to create in the Christian Church an Evangelical Faith when they could not do it in their own Greek Mysteries ? The answer is, of course, that the Evangelical Faith was at any rate latent in Christianity, and that at the utmost all the Greek Mysteries could have done was to make explicit what was already implicit in the Faith of the Church; for unless there had been some affinity—some community of interest between the two, the marriage of the Greek Mystery-cults to the Christian Faith could never have taken place at all. Lord Bacon, in his *Novum Organum*—the book that laid the foundations of modern science—gravely propounded a theory that an oak tree was capable of changing itself into a fern, and he adduced as proof of this that he had sometimes seen ferns growing out of the trunk of an oak tree. Loisy's theory is very similar. He sees what he takes to be the fronds of the Greek Mysteries growing amongst the foliage of the tree of Christianity, and, like Lord Bacon, he imagines that the transformation has taken place. The one hypothesis is as foolish as the other.

III.

But there is another consideration which must be taken into account. If the transformation of Christianity under the influence of the cults really happened at all, when did the change take place ? Now the Evangelical Faith is found quite clear and definite in the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, and the earliest of these cannot be dated later than 52 or 53 A.D., and may possibly, if Harnack's scheme of chronology is correct, be five years earlier still. So that at the most there is only a period of twenty years available

for the creation of this revolution in the character of the Christian Faith. The change must have been complete before the Apostle Paul started on his second missionary journey. But not even the whole of this period of twenty years is really available, for we must subtract from it the four or five years at the commencement when Christianity was confined within the boundaries of Palestine and there was no opportunity of contact with those outside forces. It was not till Christianity reached Antioch, the capital of the Province of Syria, that these alien influences had any chance of making any impression upon it. So that the whole thing must have happened within fifteen years.

Now unfortunately our knowledge of the first twenty years of Christianity is scanty in the extreme. We have only the meagre record of the first fifteen chapters of Acts. "Christianity," it has been said, "entered a tunnel after the Resurrection from which it did not emerge into the clear light of day until the second missionary journey of St. Paul." There are only a few gleams of light penetrating the darkness. Christianity must have changed its clothes in the tunnel if it changed them anywhere. But what records we possess certainly give us no indication that any revolutionary change took place in the character of the Christian Faith. The only important modification that was made was the decision to admit the Gentiles to the Church on the same terms as the Jews; but that has no real bearing on the issue we are considering. The speeches of St. Paul in the later chapters of Acts do not differ in any essential particular from the speeches of St. Peter at its commencement. In neither of them, of course, do we get the full theology of the Epistles, but that is not difficult to explain; and if the later speeches are more explicit on some points than the earlier, that is only what is naturally to be expected. No one would dream of maintaining to-day that there was

no development in the exposition of Christian theology; the only issue is, was that development a legitimate evolution of what was always present in germ, or was it the imposition of alien elements which were foreign to the original deposit of divine truth upon which the Church was founded?

But not only is there a complete absence of any indication of this metamorphosis of Christianity in the narrative of Acts, but there is the clearest proof that the Apostle Paul was not aware of any breach of continuity, as far as the Evangelical Faith is concerned, between his own theology and that of primitive Christianity. "For I delivered unto you first of all," he writes to the Corinthians, "that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures." This doctrine was not his own discovery, it was not borrowed from the Greek Mysteries or any other external source; it was part of the Christian tradition which he had found existing in the Church at the time of his conversion and which he had embodied in his own teaching. It was his datum—"the thing given to him"—the original fact and the primary truth round which he had built up the substance of his theology.

St. Paul of course expounded and expanded this belief, which he had inherited, in his own way, and in doing so he may possibly have made use of terms and categories derived from the Greek Mysteries, but at the most it was only Paul's exposition and philosophy of the subject that came from outside sources; the belief itself was, according to his own statement and convictions, an integral element in the faith of the Church from the start.

The statement of St. Paul upon this point is borne out by another line of argument. Supposing St. Paul had been an innovator in this matter—supposing he had introduced into Christianity for the first time the Evangelical

note—he would certainly have been challenged. He had enemies even within the fold of the Christian Church. No man was ever more criticised than he was by Christians who wanted to keep Christianity as a monopoly of the Jews. They attacked him on every possible occasion. They questioned his credentials and denied his authority. If Paul had been responsible for changing the character of primitive Christianity they would not have lost the opportunity of bringing the charge against him. It would have given them a weapon which they could have used with deadly effect. They ransacked their armoury for other instruments of attack. It is incredible to suppose that if the sword of this argument had lain ready to hand it would have been allowed to lie idle in its sheath. No, though Paul and his Judaising opponents differed on many points, the Evangelical Faith was common ground to both of them and on this issue they were at one.

Again, if the innovation was made at all, it was made, as we have seen, during the first twenty years after the Crucifixion; it was made, that is to say, in the lifetime of many who had been personal disciples of Jesus Himself. Would it not have been inevitable that in the face of the revolution some of them would have risen up and said, "we have not so learnt Christ"? The discrepancy between the Synoptic Gospels and the Epistles, which seems so patent to modern scholarship, was not recognised in the first century. The Gospels and the Epistles grew out of the soul of the same Church and lived side by side, and, as far as we can tell, the modern discovery, if such it can be called, that they contained different gospels, was never even suspected by the first generation of believers. The New Testament is practically unanimous on the point. It contains six or seven different types of theology. These types contain varied and sometimes discordant expositions of the Christian

Faith. Some emphasise one side of Christian truth and some another. But there are certain great Christian beliefs which are emphasised by them all, and none is more emphasised than the central principle of the Evangelical Faith. It is found in all the New Testament documents except one—the Epistle of St. James—which is the exception that seems to prove the rule. If this doctrine had been an intruder into the faith of the Church, is it at all conceivable that in so short a time it would have succeeded in capturing so large a share of support in the Christian Church ? It was never exactly a popular doctrine. It did not readily appeal either to Jews or Greeks. It was rather a burden on their faith than otherwise, for to the Jews it was a " stumblingblock " and to the Greeks " foolishness."

No, if we ask the question, " Why does the Evangelical Faith glow so vividly in the pages of St. Paul's Epistles ? " the answer is two-fold. (1) First of all, Paul was convinced that it was an integral element in the original Christian Faith which had been accepted by believers from the very first; (2) and secondly, Paul had verified for himself its truth in his own tragic experience of sin and of redemption. Paul had proved the validity of the doctrine " on his own pulses." If modern scholarship would turn for a time away from the Historico-Critical study of the play of external forces upon the development of the Christian organism—a study that has produced the most fruitful results, and laid all modern students of the New Testament under the deepest possible debt of obligation—if it would turn from this rather overworked mine of research to another field which is now " white unto the harvest "—I mean the psychological analysis of Christian experience, St. Paul's own experience to begin with, and then the experience of all the " twice-born " men and women of the first generation —a change would come over the spirit of New Testament

scholarship and there would speedily be a great inversion of values. For while the records of Christian experience remain —as they must remain—unchallenged, the Evangelical Faith rests upon an unshakable foundation—a foundation that is more valid and invincible than a thousand proof-texts from Leviticus or even from the Epistles of St. Paul.

IV.

We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that the Evangelical Faith is not an alien addition superimposed upon Christianity by some external force, but a vital element in the original deposit of truth bequeathed by Jesus to His followers—an integral part of "the faith once delivered to the saints." Is this conclusion borne out by the evidence of the Gospels themselves? Now it must be admitted that on the face of it the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels seems sparse and almost negligible compared with the wealth of the testimony to the Evangelical Faith which we find on almost every page of the Epistles. There are only two proof-texts which yield us unmistakable proof that Jesus Himself enunciated in His teaching the principles of Evangelicalism. The one is the statement found in St. Mark, "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." The other, of course, is contained in the words of the Communion Service, "This is My blood of the covenant which is shed for many."

There are some other "sayings of Jesus" which might by a little pressure perhaps be made to yield similar results, but it will not help our argument to resort to dubious devices in our search for evidence. As Dr. Dale once put it, "To attempt by skilful manipulation to get a better meaning out of a text than it contains is as fraudulent a proceeding as to attempt by skilful manipulation to get a better meaning out of a cheque than it contains. The text,

as a devout soul might say, is more precious when you have put a great Christian truth in it than it was in its naked and original state. No doubt. And a cheque for ten pounds is more precious when you have added a couple of noughts to the ten and made it a thousand. The two proceedings are very much of the same character. There should be conscience in the study as well as in the counting-house."

When we have got every ounce of meaning to which we are legitimately entitled from our proof-texts, we are still left with the problem, why are there so few of them ? Why did Jesus only embody the Evangelical Faith in two of His sayings ?

The answer, I think, lies in the region of the psychology of religion. It is a law of the spiritual life—a law that seems to be of universal application—that the moral ideal must be awakened before the sense of the need of redemption can be aroused. It was because St. Paul realised far better than his contemporaries the full significance of the moral ideal embodied in the Jewish law, because he saw that it reached into the secret places of the heart, that he began to realise the difference that existed between the man he was and the man he ought to be, and so was forced to cry out for "some power, not his own, that makes for righteousness." It was because John Wesley had caught a vision of the moral ideal as it glowed in the pages of the *Imitatio Christi* and Law's *Serious Call* that he came to realise his own exceeding sinfulness and his need of salvation. Jesus followed the true psychological method when He devoted most of His time in His teaching to describing the demands and imperatives of the Christian moral law. He knew that when once His followers realised all that was involved in these demands they would be driven to cry out in their despair, "God be merciful to us sinners," and it was at that point when the sense of need was created that he revealed

in his teaching some glimpses of the great redemption. It is a significant fact that it was only after the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi that Jesus began to talk plainly to His disciples about the fact and meaning of His death. It was only when they had reached that stage in their spiritual development that they were capable of receiving the higher truths which Jesus had to teach them. You cannot teach the binomial theorem to a class of boys that has not mastered the first principles of arithmetic. And it is not at the beginning of the history of religion, but rather at its end, that the great truths of the Evangelical Faith begin to make their real appeal.

But I do not stake my argument so much upon the proof-texts, though I think their evidence is irrefragable. I stake it rather upon the facts of the life and death of Jesus. Jesus gave expression to the Evangelical Faith not so much in His words as in His deeds. He taught it by action rather than by speech. The most amazing thing in the Gospel narrative of the life of Jesus is the deliberate choice of the Cross. There were other alternatives before Him. From the first days of the Temptation in the Wilderness to the final struggle in the garden of Gethsemane Jesus saw always before His eyes the forking roads. There was the broad road of popularity and success. The people would have taken Him and made Him King. By the great supernatural powers which He possessed He might have won freedom and emancipation for his people—He might even have sat upon the imperial throne in Rome itself. What could have been a more alluring vision than this? What a platform it would have given Jesus for making known His truth to the world? What a change would have come over the face of history if Jesus had been Emperor in place of a Tiberius and a Nero? Could He not with a lever such as this have set up the Kingdom of God on earth? Then

there was the other road—the *via dolorosa*—the way of suffering and poverty and rejection, the way that climbed the steeps of Calvary and ended in the awful tragedy upon the Cross. Why did Jesus deliberately—though not without a great fight—always set aside the attractive prospect of the throne, and all that the throne might have meant for Him in capturing the world for His ideals ? Why did He choose the Cross and all the agony of suffering which the Cross entailed ? Judged by ordinary human standards the choice of the Cross was foolish almost even to the verge of madness. The public ministry of Jesus had lasted on the longest computation for less than three years. What can a man—even though He be divine—hope to achieve in less than three years ? Most of the men who have permanently influenced the thought of the world—Confucius, Gautama, Mahomet, Aristotle and Plato for instance—lived long lives and were before the public for many years. If the real contribution that Jesus made to religion lies in His teaching, it was little less than a consummate act of folly from the ordinary human standpoint to bring martyrdom upon Himself before He had had time to establish and consolidate His work. Prudence should have led Him to postpone the final catastrophe as long as possible, that His teaching might have time to produce a permanent effect. But at the earliest possible moment, as soon as He was sure of His disciples, without even waiting to test the reality of their convictions, " He set His face to go up to Jerusalem," and began to speak in language that was unmistakable of the fate that was to befall Him there. The Cross was the supreme goal of His life. It was for the sake of the Cross that He swept His temptations on one side. It was for the sake of the Cross that He refused the Crown. It was for the sake of the Cross—and for that alone—that He steeled Himself to make the final journey to Jerusalem. The Cross

constitutes the supreme contribution which He made for the saving of the race. The Evangelical Faith as it is expounded by St. Paul, and the other great writers of the Apostolic Age is an interpretation not so much of the words of Jesus as of His life, and no other interpretation is really possible, for this interpretation alone explains the facts, and without it we are left with insoluble problems. The Evangelical Faith is the only key to the enigmas of the Gospel narrative, for it alone provides the clue to the discovery of the unity of purpose which runs through the great story of the life of Christ. The Cross is in reality as dominant in the Gospels as in the Epistles, only in the one case it is dominant in action, in the other in thought and Christian experience. It is the fact of the Cross that links together the two hemispheres of the New Testament—the Gospels and the Epistles—and that forms the bridge by which we pass from the one to the other, and while that fact remains, the Evangelical Faith rests on a sure foundation that is unassailable.

V.

The ultimate religious problem is the problem of redemption. The Greek Mystery-Religions, as we have seen, formulated, probably better than had ever been done before, the three eternal quests of the human spirit—the quest for communion with God, the quest for purity, and the quest for a pledge of immortality, but these three quests are only different aspects of the problem of Redemption. For it is only through redemption that the soul of man can enter into real communion with God; it is only through redemption that it can obtain purity of soul; and it is only through redemption that it can win the full assurance of a blessed immortality. Christianity is pre-eminently the religion of redemption; if it is not that, it is nothing—at any rate

it is nothing that really counts. It contains, of course, the finest possible moral and religious ideals, but if its Gospel is only the Gospel of ideals, it is like that wonderful statue—the Venus of Milo—very beautiful, but without hands and without arms, and so incapable of reaching down and helping men in their struggle with human impotence and sin. The world has rarely known in all its long history such an outburst of idealism as characterised the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. And we felt so sure about those ideals. We thought that it was they that would deliver Israel. It seemed to us that they contained within themselves an inherent dynamic which would secure their triumph in history. And then in a moment—almost in the twinkling of an eye—the glorious bubble burst, and the earthquake of the European war destroyed the fair palace of our dreams, which came toppling down about our heads like a card house that a child builds. The slopes of Gallipoli and the cross-marked cemeteries of France and Flanders contain far more than the bones of our heroic dead; they are the grave too of the facile optimism of the Victorian Age. The spectacle of Europe to-day is the spectacle of a world in ruins; and yet this world in ruins—or at any rate the nobler part of it—has seen the splendid vision of the dawn of universal peace. It has seen the vision and the sight has made it more conscious than ever of its own impotence and the bankruptcy of its statesmanship and the futility of its hopes. And the world to-day, torn with strife, "with the nations snarling at each other's heels," mocked by its own dream and the vanity of its efforts, is wringing its hands and beating its breast and crying out in its despair, "O wretched world that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Our idealisms have failed, and the reason is not far to

seek. They are only another illustration of the truth of the old Roman proverb, "*naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.*" "You may expel human nature with a pitchfork, but it will always come back again." Yes, that is the real difficulty. "It always comes back." You may attempt to eradicate the vices, the hatreds, the sins of the world, by civilisation or education, but "they always come back." And for that reason you may try to expel the Evangelical Faith from your theology by the pitchfork of modern criticism, but it will always come back, because it alone contains the power of redemption. In the eighteenth century Rationalism and Deism seemed to have expelled it effectually from Christian thought, but it came back in full floodtide in the Great Revival. And it will come back again to us, when once we have realised to the full the impotence of our puny efforts, apart from the grace of God.

The Evangelical Faith is immortal because it ministers to the universal need of the human spirit. There is no more pathetic book in Greek literature than the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles. Œdipus is the Greek equivalent to Job. The details of the two cases are of course different, but in all its essential features the problem is the same. In the *Coloneus* Œdipus comes to Athens seeking sanctuary. He is old and blind and broken, weighed down by the doom of Fate for the sins which he had unwittingly committed, relentlessly pursued by the Avenging Furies. As he enters the city in quest of shelter for the few remaining days of his tragic life, he is urged by his friends to try to appease the gods by offering sacrifice in the temple. But he is too old and feeble to perform the lustral rites himself. So he summons to his side his two devoted daughters, who have stood loyally by him through the crushing disaster, and bids one of them go and offer the sacrifice for him, with the words,

ἀρκεῖν γὰρ οἶμαι κἀντὶ μυρίων μίαν
ψυχὴν τὰδ' ἑκτίνουσαν, ἢν εὔνους παρῇ.

"I think that one can offer for ten thousand, if he but come with goodwill to the shrine." These words seem to me as truly Messianic as anything in Isaiah or the Psalms. Substitute "the cross" for "the shrine," and make Christ the offerer, and the words of Œdipus embody the Evangelical Faith. Even as they stand, without any change or alteration, they contain a foregleam of that Faith. And in the long run we all come to the position of Œdipus. When we are broken in the struggle with sin, we instinctively turn to Him "who can offer for ten thousand," "who loved us and gave Himself for us," and who, while we were yet sinners, "died the just for the unjust to bring us to God."

We may not be able to find the explanation that will satisfy wholly the demands of philosophy. We may call the Pauline interpretations forensic and juridical, and perhaps they are. We may riddle with the shot and shell of our criticism the theories of the schoolmen and theologians in all the ages. It is such a cheap and easy thing to do. We may think that Mr. Wells is right in challenging the crude metaphors of the altar and the priest. And yet the thing itself remains. The instinct to which the Evangelical Faith appeals is ineradicable. And before we throw aside too readily the terms which the New Testament has consecrated and which have been hallowed by the great Christian hymns, we should remember Bushnell. Bushnell, after writing two volumes to prove the folly and perversity of all the theories which attach objective value to the Atonement, is driven in spite of himself at last to admit "that though in the facts of our Lord's passion, outwardly regarded, there is no sacrifice, or oblation, or atonement, or propitiation, yet if we ask, 'How shall we come to God by the aid

of this martyrdom ? ' the facts must be put into the moulds of the altar, and without these forms of the altar we should be utterly at a loss in making any use of the Christian facts which would set us in a condition of practical reconciliation with God. Christ is good, beautiful, wonderful. His disinterested love is a picture by itself. His forgiving patience melts into my feeling. His passion rends my heart. But what is He for ? And how shall He be made to me the salvation that I want ? One word—He is my sacrifice—opens all to me, and beholding Him with all my sin upon Him, I count Him my offering. I come unto God by Him and enter into the Holiest by His blood." In these words of Bushnell Christian experience speaks, and it speaks with authority and not as the scribes, and from its testimony there is no valid appeal.

HERBERT T. ANDREWS.

JESUS' FORGIVENESS OF THE SINFUL.

IN the following pages we are meant to contemplate Jesus face to face with sinners, who need and also somehow receive pardon at His hands ; to reflect on His teaching about forgiveness, whether conveyed audibly in words or silently by act or gesture.

It must never be forgotten that, in a true sense, Jesus continued a religious work inaugurated by the Baptist. The forerunner is pictured as " baptizing in the desert and preaching a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins " (Mark i. 4). We encounter here the conviction that all men are sinners, that no one can go into the Kingdom whose sins are not forgiven, and that repentance is the requisite path to forgiveness. It is in this atmosphere of belief that Jesus began His public work. He does not

appear ever to have doubted that such belief is essentially true.

There were however other contemporary opinions which He definitely repudiated as misleading. Thus He rejected the habit into which good people had fallen of construing their relations with God in terms of law. There were 613 precepts, none of which must be infringed. The correctest view of God is that He is man's Judge. His righteousness is that of the magistrate. Grace was not denied, but its place was secondary and therefore highly uncertain. The worshipper must accordingly bestir himself to win God's favour, and make his own position secure by doing extra works he might have left undone. Looking ahead, he saw at the end of all things a Divine assize where the Jew should receive all that his deeds were value for in the heavenly record. There is nothing ignoble in all this, which by no means exhausts the Pharisaic creed. But to Jesus it was profoundly unsatisfying. And one reason why it is well to fix this Jewish background in our view is that thereby we realize the fact more vividly that Jesus' wonderful message of forgiveness was not uttered casually but with strong and deliberate intention, in antagonism to a rival doctrine which He desired to expel from human faith. He sought to make it redeemingly clear to the sinful that Law was not His own last word to them, or His Father's.

In Jesus' company, men became aware by degrees that He was reading their nature to the depths, probing motives, discerning wishes, catching unspoken prayers; not, however, with the cruel penetration of steely intelligence but by a new intensity of love. He was indeed altogether open-eyed about low and base things in their lives. His judgment could be of a dreadful severity. His holiness burned in white flame near which evil could not live.

In spite of this uncompromising rightness—or rather, on account of it—men were able to place the utmost confidence in His affection ; and in case after case they seem to have flung themselves upon His strength for protection from themselves and against the power of habit. Along with this went the insight that He was worthy of trust. He was such that sinners could depend on Him. They saw Him live in the tempting, defiling world—facing allurement, enduring hardship, ignoring flattery. Plainly there was a struggle ; to keep His integrity was a real conflict. More than once they caught His agonised voice as He prayed concerning His difficulties, and at such times they could do little more than stand far off, guessing at the pain. Eventually they reached the irreversible conclusion that His soul had never once been touched by evil. They said to each other that this Man was not, like them, a sinner. He had never felt an evil conscience or had to speak the bitter words of self-accusation due from all the rest.

Thus our Lord produced in His associates the profound sense that morally they were failures. No doubt they came to perceive that God and Jesus were indistinguishable in character, but this, it appeared, could only make things worse. If what they felt in Jesus shamed them, must not the meaning be that they were all too unworthy for the Holy One to bear them in His presence ? Yet just here is the amazing fact. Precisely when their shame grew intolerable, His treatment of them removed their sad despair. He would not send them away, or say that He could make nothing of them. Instead, He somehow let them know that He and they were friends for life. His attitude was at once so stern and so understanding, so holy and so merciful, that in Him God seemed to be standing by their side, and their eyes opened to the truth that what

through Jesus' love they were receiving was the forgiveness of God Himself. They did not as yet know that Jesus' attitude to the sinful would one day cost His life, but they quite well understood that He was doing for them the greatest of all services. To speak the word of pardon, to blot out the past and open up the future, to give peace to conscience, to impart hope to broken men and launch them in the career of loving their neighbour as themselves —nothing else could be so great. And this is what He *was* doing, because in reality He was leading them into fellowship with God.

I.

It is however time to examine one or two characteristic incidents in which Jesus' mind about forgiveness is made clear, as well as the principles (to use too cold and doctrinaire a word) on which He dealt with the sinful who had sought Him out or had been guided to Him. Let us first consider an episode which casts an extraordinarily suggestive light on Christ's view of spiritual facts—the healing of the paralytic (Mark ii. 3–12). His question to the onlookers, as given in Dr. Moffatt's rendering, is this: "Which is the easier thing, to tell the paralytic, 'Your sins are forgiven,' or to tell him, 'Rise, lift your pallet, and go away'?" This was probably meant not so much to rebuke the murmurers as to make them think. They disbelieved in Christ's power to pardon sin by a word, and when they heard Him say to the invalid, "Your sins are forgiven," they called it blasphemy, on the ground that no one *can* forgive except God. They were right, of course; God alone is the author of forgiveness, and no declaration of pardon which mediately or immediately does not come from God has any value. In any ordinary case this would have been final. But now it missed the

mark, for all that Jesus did or said was revelation. His tears are God's mercy, His wrath God's anger. And just so, to the sin-tormented soul before Him, His absolution is God's pardon.

Hence our Lord replied to the objection by showing His power in another way. To forgive sin or cure disease by a word is for common men impossible; in their case it is as simple and as vain to speak of the first as of the second. But when the sick man rose and carried out his bed, it was an ocular demonstration how far from vain it was for Jesus to speak words of healing, and, as He proceeds to show, the physical has its counterpart in the spiritual. If His word can quicken helpless limbs, His word also can cleanse the guilty conscience. Salvation—that comprehensive miracle—for Him consisted in admission to a Divine family in which men were the children of a Father who both forgave all their iniquities and healed all their diseases. Now the scribes would very likely have kept quiet had Christ simply healed the man, but they could not bear Him to act on the higher plane, and they resented fiercely His touching the soul. But what Jesus presents to them is an instance in which the two halves of life are indivisibly one. Body and soul are but abstractions; together, in the inseparable unity of experience, they form the human life which God has made and will redeem. Thus to the question, whether asked in the first century or the twentieth: Which is easier, to forgive or heal? we must still give Jesus' answer, that both are impossible for men but wholly possible for God.

Thus one truth shining out of this wonderful interview is that for the mind of Jesus pardon is supernatural. He and the sick man knew that something had happened which nothing but the illimitable power of the Eternal could account for. We cannot forgive ourselves. No

comrade, with the best will in the world, can do it for us. If we avert our eyes from God, the order of things is dead against the thought of forgiveness, for there is not a hint of it in Nature, or at least the half-decipherable hints which Nature may contain are illegible by any mind not already enlightened by the experience of being pardoned. It has been truly said that to the first question of personal religion: What must I do to be saved? Nature, in its regular and majestic sequence, makes no reply. Sun, moon and stars cannot answer it, nor can earth and sea.

Moreover, from Jesus' treatment of the paralytic we learn that in forgiveness the initiative is with God. Jesus spoke first; before the man had time to ask for it, He placed the boon in the needy hand, with anticipating love. Very possibly healing and pardon had an altogether different importance for Jesus' mind and the other's. To the patient health was the one thing needful, and Jesus counted mainly if not exclusively as the great Worker of cures; to the Healer, God and pardon were the greatest things in the world. In His judgment the bad conscience ranks as the sorest of all troubles, and deliverance wrought by pardon is the divinest gift in His power. He therefore gave it first. Become right with God, He says implicitly, and trust Me for the rest; or, as He expressed it otherwise, Seek first the Kingdom and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added.

The scene also contains suggestive indications of Jesus' view of His own part in the mediation of forgiveness. And this we might expect, for on the surface of it the episode is peculiar in this respect, that our Lord's right to pronounce pardon on the sinful had been openly challenged, and although the Pharisees had on other occasions taken umbrage at His persistent grace to sinners, no other instance can be found in the Gospels where He is represented as

deliberately, and as it were by argument, justifying His action in the bestowal of pardon. If therefore we search the story for proofs that Jesus regarded Himself as having a special relation to the imparting of forgiveness, we do so with the feeling that in the words quoted He is consciously and intentionally putting the case for Himself. Now He does not take pardon to be a matter of course; we have indeed seen that He felt it to be supernatural. Why then, if the thing were so amazing, did He expect the paralytic to believe there and then that his sins were blotted out? Surely the announcement of pardon, to convince, must be uttered by One whose personality is in itself convincing. Yes: and here the condition is satisfied. Jesus knew His own unshared power to represent God to men; He knew that at the very moment this power was taking effect in the man's soul: therefore He could speak as He does speak. There is no doubt a real sense in which we also impart forgiveness, as when in preaching or private words of friendship we declare the pardoning love of God. The difference, however, is that when we proffer pardon to men, we do it in view of Jesus, the surety and guarantee of grace to all the guilty; when in the Gospels Jesus does it, it is in virtue of Himself. Not as though He insisted that men should believe it apart from what they knew of *Him*. As Herrmann puts it: "Jesus did not write the story of the Prodigal Son on a sheet of paper for those who knew nothing of Himself. He told it to men who saw Him, and who, through all that He was, were assured of the Father in heaven, of Whom He was speaking." [1] We are plainly bound to give some reasonable account of the acknowledged fact that no one before or after Jesus has ever presented forgiveness in this absolute and personally authoritative way, and the explanation

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 132.

can only lie in the self-consciousness of Jesus as the Bearer of God's salvation. It was in that character that He dealt with men, and, as this incident proves, He could be recognised in that character by others. They found pardon really present in Him: they were aware that He put forgiveness in their hand; as He stood before them, He embodied for their faith the sufficient mercy of God.

II.

The difficult but interesting question how much or how little acquaintance with Jesus could yield a sufficient assurance of pardon, is raised by the story of the sinful woman in Simon's house, who wept over Jesus' feet and wiped them with her hair (Luke vii. 36–50). Here the word of pardon is spoken not at the beginning of the interview, but at the end. Had the woman met Jesus previously? A recent writer thinks not; she had only heard of Him from others. "Before He had seen her or she Him, He had turned her to God."[1] This is not convincing, and would not suit Zaccheus either, who, though he almost certainly knew something about the Messiah, does not hail Him with words of personal gratitude. But though we may judge that our Lord and the woman must have been face to face earlier, this had not had its full effect upon her. Otherwise Jesus would have chosen His words differently. He would not have said, in an aside meant only for her, "Your sins are forgiven."

The story is as moving in its omissions as in the elements of which it is actually made up. Thus we are struck by the absence of explicit condemnation. There is no harping on the enormities of the past, no probing of the wound, no denunciation. Not that evil is overlooked; how deep

[1] K. Windisch in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (*Festgabe für W. Herrmann*), p. 299.

goes the simple phrase: "Her sins, which are many"! But in its lack of flaming wrath against the guilty the story only reproduces a marked characteristic of Jesus' attitude to every sort of sinner except Pharisees. To Him the wish for reconciliation was enough. Repentance settled all accounts. He will not keep her waiting, or put her on probation, nor will He spoil His gift by cruel reminders of the past. To be sorry for what is bygone is all He asks. There is here a delicacy and magnanimity which we cannot praise, for it is above all praise.

Light too is cast on the value for God of simple penitence. The broken heart, Jesus feels, has no need of thundering accusations; what is in place is that wounds should be dressed with balm and tears dried from off the face that is dimmed with sorrow. At the touch of penitence all doors fly open, and the child is at the Father's breast. De Maistre somewhere relates a story he had culled from an old ascetic book, where the same point is made by contrast. "A saint," he writes, "whose name escapes me at the moment, had a vision in which he beheld Satan standing before the throne of God. And as he listened, he heard the evil spirit say: 'Why hast Thou damned me, who offended Thee but once, whereas Thou art saving thousands whose offences were so many?' And God made answer: 'Hast thou but once asked pardon?'"

Again, we cannot but observe how Jesus represents God to the woman's aching heart; the name of God is not mentioned anywhere in the story, yet He is everywhere. He, in truth, is present in Jesus, and this Jesus knows. Is it not the first promise of escape for the imprisoned soul, that some loving hand should be felt leading the guilty one into the open air of heaven? There are steps in the experience of being forgiven, and at the outset we must encounter some one better than we who cares

for us and has a personal concern in the question whether we rise or fall. Faith in God's mercy flows from the touch of human kindness. Of this principle Jesus is the last and highest instance. His attitude to the woman was her sheet-anchor in the world of goodness; had He turned from her, she would instantly have sunk like a stone. She could have held out no longer against such evidence that she was beyond hope. But in Jesus' demeanour there was that which weighed the balance against despair. What is more, this aspect of Jesus we cannot be content to describe simply by the word "mystery"; it was that essential, distinctive and most fundamental quality of God which the New Testament calls love. Jesus was this woman's Saviour because through His attitude she once for all knew that God was on her side, and was there and then receiving her as His child. Thus there was laid down at the foundations of her life that initial certainty of His pardoning love which made goodness "an assured career."

We further gain from this story a significant indication of what Jesus believed to be the unfailing consequence of receiving forgiveness. In His view it is inconceivable that the pardoned should not begin to love. Where love is absent, there has been no reception of forgiveness. Our Lord does not hesitate to bring out this truth by a sharp contrast between the passion of gratitude shown by the fallen woman and the frigid reserve of His Pharisaic host. It was as much as to say to Simon: "You have never gained from Me or any other the wonderful conviction that in spite of all you are the Father's child, otherwise how could your heart be so cold?" The sense of infinite debt, the uncontrollable impulse to give outlet to that sense in loving and contrite act—all this He welcomes in the woman as the natural utterance of a changed heart. To know oneself forgiven is to have the spring of love unsealed,

III.

Let us finally take the incident that marks the commencement of St. Peter's discipleship. In the narrative of the draught of fishes we find the words: "When Simon Peter saw it, he fell at Jesus' knees and said, 'Depart from me, I am a sinful man, Lord.' . . . And Jesus said to Simon, 'Fear not; henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men'" (Luke v. 8–10). From these words we learn new things about Jesus' impression on a sinner, as also about a sinner's experience in Jesus' company. It makes little difference to the meaning whether we do or do not hold that the story has got out of its right place.

Some points of similarity to the call of Isaiah (Isa. vi.) are fairly clear. In both cases, a sudden realisation of the Divine calls forth an overwhelming sense of creaturely nothingness and unworthiness. The man has abruptly become aware of the greatness of the Unseen, felt somehow as close beside him in Jesus' person. It is a usual comment on the incident that at this stage Peter's ideas were more or less primitive, and that his oppressed feeling of weakness and nullity had in it nothing or almost nothing ethical; what we see is just the reaction of a tolerably superstitious nature upon what seemed to him at the time an astonishing manifestation of Divine knowledge and power. There is truth in this, but not by any means the whole truth. It is inconceivable that St. Peter's experience should have been completely devoid of moral and spiritual elements. After all, what had so deeply impressed him had not been due to any chance passer-by; it had been due to Christ. Besides, he had been in the Worker's company; he knew something of His spirit; he had heard Him teach as well as do this thing. Hence, as an explanation, superstition will not take us far. The man did not say: "Leave me, for I am as nothing in Thy sight," but "leave me, for I

am sinful." His emotion may have been as much owing to astounded gratitude as to a sense of frailty, for there is nothing which so humbles us as to gain a great gift of which we feel ourselves altogether unworthy. But anyhow Peter's words and act reveal one of the most ineradicable constituents of religious feeling, on a par with that evidenced by the saying of Abraham: "I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, who am but dust and ashes" (Gen. xviii. 27). Here there appears a quality of authentic religion for which there can never be any substitute, and it is no merit in a man to have discarded it. In God's presence we go on our knees; we do not stand erect thanking whatever gods there be for our unconquerable soul. The experience of taking forgiveness from God's hand, when true to type, includes this strain of overpowering awe. He has a poor nature who cannot understand it, or would wish it away.

But is this really an instance of forgiveness, since of that there is not a word? True, but Jesus' language is full of pardoning import. "Have no fear; from now thou shalt catch men." In this reply to the stricken man Jesus first bids him have courage and stay on beside Him, next He intrusts him with the service of winning men for God. In the sense of being pardoned these two certainties are contained. We are given to know that God has not thrust us away, but in spite of our ill desert will have us by Him; He gives us a place, to be consciously realised, in His fellowship and Kingdom. We were prepared to take the lowest room, or not even that; yet He will neither depart nor have us depart from Him, but conveys instead the certainty that we are not forsaken. And further, we are made aware that God is bidding us share with Him in His redeeming work. He trusts the forgiven man; He sends him out with the ennobling consciousness

that he is held worthy to be the Father's servant. It is often through these certainties, gradually suffusing the mind till they form part of our very selves, that the complete assurance of pardon reaches the mind. But the chronology of forgiveness as an experience matters little; what is of importance is that immediately or by degrees a man should know that, in Luther's words, he "has a gracious God" —should be certain that he has God and that God has him.

IV.

If we look back over these characteristic scenes, one outstanding feature is vital to all three. It is that Jesus meets the natural hesitation of sinners to believe in God's forgiveness by His personal attitude of loving friendliness and good-will. He does not pour out words either about sin's horror or the Father's love, for in a tragic situation we most need not words but the silent touch of a friend's hand. He persisted in this attitude notwithstanding the shocked protests of Pharisees. But He does not act thus in lax indulgence, as though the sins were of no account. He sought the company of the sinful habitually and with open eyes, and He did so not for subtle reasons, or as an example to anyone, but because by nature He could do no otherwise, because it was the only possible outcome of His intimacy with the Father. This is not conjecture but certainty, for it was as a result of complaints made on this very ground that He told the story of the Prodigal. The unforgetable picture of a father who made merry over a wandering son's return, and was gentle even to the elder brother, was Jesus' illustration of His own thrilling word: "There is joy in heaven over a single sinner who repents." He expressly justified His intercourse with outcasts by pointing out that to act so is a reflection of God's own mind.

The same principle must go with us when we try to explain how the Cross mediates to the sinful an assurance that their sins are pardoned. For Jesus to keep beside Him the stained and the covetous was doubtless an expression of love like to God's, but also it meant such pain as *we* can barely understand. It is an agony to see vileness eating into the life of those we love. Of this willingness to suffer in prolonged and faithful proximity to sinners the Cross is the last and highest manifestation. Calvary is the pain, felt in unison with God's mind, whereby the Divine readiness to forgive is sealed.

This leads on to a second reflection. All will agree that forgiveness is invariably presented in the New Testament as a free gift of the Father. It is without money and without price. The heathen sense of propitiation has here nothing to say: pardon is not wrung from God by any sacrifice that persuades Him to put away anger and be friends. But these obviously true thoughts may easily hinder us from raising a cardinal question; the question, namely, whether Divine sacrifice, visible and implemented in Jesus, may not have none the less been present in the impartation of forgiveness, not as a precondition but as an element. On any showing, Jesus assigned to Himself a central part; He was not merely the reporter or spectator of pardon, He was, in this sphere, mediator or agent. He could not do His share in the conveyance of pardon to men except at a cost. It was not with a heart of stone that He stayed on beside the fallen, to lift them up. And the Cross, borne in vicarious participation of human shame, is the climax of this fraternal sympathetic agony. Jesus, in other words, could not convey the Father's pardon to the guilty in absolute fulness except by carrying His identification with them to the uttermost point; at that point He gave Himself in death. The Bearer of forgiveness perishes in giving

complete expression to the mercy and judgment which in their unity constitute the pardon of God. It is tragedy, it is that inscrutable and catastrophic collision of good and evil of which in its measure human life is full. But, if the phrase be permissible, it is not pessimistic but optimistic tragedy ; Jesus does not fall along with His cause, He falls that in Him the cause may live.

The Gospels show us Jesus imparting forgiveness to particular individuals not by speech alone but chiefly by the co-efficient of His personality which infinitely magnifies the power of His explicit words ; and, in principle, it is the same in the Apostolic Age and ever since. From that day till now faith in Him has been preached as the sure way to peace with God. And yet there is a difference. His human voice, His look, His touch, the deep and holy kindness of His mien—all those traits which had enabled doubting men in Palestine to believe themselves forgiven—these now are gone. No longer does He stand amongst us in His habit as He lived. Are we then worse off than His contemporaries ? Not so ; for now the Cross is there, and upon it the Crucified, to whom we can turn our longing gaze, and find in the sight all and more than all the persuasiveness which before used to look out of His eyes and bear the knowledge of pardon into the contrite heart. The Cross, as the guarantee of God's forgiving love, has replaced the old actual touch with Jesus in the days of His flesh. Its efficacy to this end has been proved by long centuries. Some replacement there had to be. If even we can see this, it was still more clear to Jesus Christ; and this is one of many reasons why every theory which scouts the notion that He regarded His own death as the pledge of forgiveness must fail to satisfy.

H. R. Mackintosh.

DOES THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. PETER THROW ANY LIGHT ON THE JOHANNINE PROBLEM?

THE Acts of the Apostles inform us that St. Peter and St. John were associated together in their work and ministry. It is generally allowed that St. Mark derived a considerable amount of his information from St. Peter. Two epistles are ascribed to the Apostle, the second of which must be set on one side, as even in the early Church its authenticity was very much disputed, and both Conservative and Liberal critics place it not very far from the middle of the second century. In the case of the first epistle, however, there are strong grounds for believing that it was written by St. Peter. The external evidence is very strong in his favour, whilst the author himself claims to be the Apostle (1 Pet. i. 1, v. 1, i. 3, "us . . whom having not seen YE love," verse 8). The letter itself was sent by Silvanus, "the reliable brother," and it is also probable that he had a hand in its composition, for not only does tradition state that St. Peter required an interpreter, but the letter is written in excellent Greek. While we need not follow those who believe that much of the substance of the letter was left to Silvanus, owing to the fact of the striking resemblances between St. Peter's speeches recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and his first epistle, still much may be said for the theory that Silvanus had a hand in the form and composition of the epistle.[1] But the question before us now is, can the witness of St. Peter throw any light on the Johannine problem? At the outset we must guard against giving the impression that there is any connexion between the Petrine and

[1] For the correspondence in thought and word between the St. Peter of the early chapters of the Acts and the St. Peter of the first epistle, cf. Dr. Knowling on the Acts of the Apostles in vol. ii. of the *Expositor's Greek Testament* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1908), 3rd Ed., pp. 121, 122.

Johannine writings. A bridge between them does not exist. St. Peter's mind and that of the writer of the Fourth Gospel were as different as it is possible to imagine. It might seem then that our quest is a hopeless one, but in four ways at least we think that St. Peter's writings may shed light upon the Johannine problem.

First, St. Peter's Epistle shows distinct traces of Pauline influence. Of this there can be no question. Many scholars favour the view that the Apostle had seen and read the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, although it may be quite possible that they were not actually before him when he wrote.[1] It is also coming more and more to be acknowledged that the same powerful mind had influenced the writer of the Fourth Gospel. This need not in the least militate against his being a personal disciple of Christ, as the same objection may be made against St. Peter's authorship of the epistle. In fact this has been brought up time after time against the latter. The Pauline influence over the writer of the Fourth Gospel cannot therefore be pressed against the probability of his having been one of the Twelve, any more than it is or has been, in the case of St. Peter, by the many scholars who believe that he wrote the epistle ascribed to him. If this objection is not insuperable with regard to St. Peter, neither can it be so with regard to St. John.

Secondly, we believe that it is possible to see in the First Epistle of St. Peter much that formed the background of the Fourth Gospel, and assuming that the epistle was written by Peter, the disciple of Christ, we infer that the Evangelist was not drawing from his own imagination, but from actual

[1] Cf. *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson (Macmillan & Co., London, 2nd Ed., 1914), pp. 148, 151, 171, 175, 207, 209; and P. Feine, *Einleitung in das neue Testament* (Quelle u. Meyer, Leipzig, 1923), p. 167.

facts in the Lord's Life, from an experience common to the Twelve, or to them both.

Now here we are confronted with the difficulty of the Pauline influence on St. Peter. It is a delicate matter as we read through St. Peter's epistle to attempt to decide which ideas are St. Peter's, and which St. Paul's, and to determine exactly their limits. If a choice is to be made between St. Paul's originality and St. Peter's our vote must be given in favour of the former. But it should not be forgotten that there is a far more original and powerful mind than St Paul's behind St Peter, even that of our Blessed Lord Himself, and therefore very often when a certain truth is denoted as Pauline, it may be also Petrine, having proceeded from the Saviour's teaching when on earth.

Knowing what we do of St. Peter, we can judge that he would read the epistle to the Romans with great admiration, but must not take it for granted that he would entirely enter into its depths. A long and sustained argument would, we feel, be quite beyond his mental capacity, although certain ideas of the Apostle to the Gentiles not requiring much concentration of mind would be well within St. Peter's grasp. He would unconsciously express himself in Pauline phrase, passing his thought through the Pauline mould. The following instances which do not profess to be exhaustive may be given, *κληρονομία*, *ἐλευθερία*, *χαρίσματα*, *κοινωνία τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων*, *ἔπαινος*, *τίμη*, *ἀποκάλυψις*, *συνείδησις*, *καταρτίζειν*, and in particular the sentence *ζῆν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ* 1 Peter ii. 24, and *ζῆν τῷ θεῷ*, Romans vi. 10, 11, and the expression *κρυπτὸς τῆς καρδίας ἄνθρωπος*, 1 Peter iii. 4, cf. Romans vii. 22, 2 Corinthians iv. 16, Ephesians iii. 16.[1] Dr. Moffatt carries us a con-

[1] Cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das neue Testament* (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg in B., 1892), 3rd ed., pp. 313, 314; and Dr. J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1920), p. 330.

siderable way along with him when he says that the writer of the first epistle "is by no means a Paulinist. His attitude is rather that of the common practical consciousness pervading the Churches—a consciousness which was prior to Paul, and in which Paulinism, for the most part, operated as a ferment," [1] to which we would add that the spiritual experience enshrined in the letter is the outcome of the direct teaching of the Master with whom he had companied. Assuming the truth of this we must forthwith proceed to substantiate our second and most important point, namely that much which formed the background of the Fourth Gospel can be traced to the same original source as that of St. Peter's First Epistle.

St. Peter lays much stress on Regeneration i. 3, 23, ii. 2, and indirectly connects it with baptism iii. 21. Outside the epistle to Titus the New Birth never occurs in St. Paul's writings. Firmly convinced as he was of the necessity for a radical change in a man's nature, he nevertheless approaches the subject from a different angle. With St. Peter the idea of childhood as a symbol is prominent, with St. Paul the thought is of an entire break with the past, death and life are uppermost. For the nearest parallel to St. Peter's thought we must go to St. John. The Discourse to Nicodemus, chapter iii., and St. John i. 12, cf. 1 John ii. 29, iii. 9, v. 1, 4, 18, whilst the resemblance between 1 Peter i. 23 and 1 John iii. 9 is very marked.

In warning his readers against sins which threaten the brotherly love of the community, he reminds them of their condition as new-born babes, and that they should ever be desiring spiritual nourishment "which is without guile" (1 Pet. ii. 2, R.V.). As Gunkel has rightly observed, "What kind of milk it is, he does not expressly say here, but as it appears, we may understand from what follows he is think-

[1] Op cit., pp. 330, 331.

ing of Christ Himself. Christ Himself is the nourishment which the young Christian needs for his inner life;" [1] and St. Peter further strengthens his exhortation by a quotation from Psalm xxxiv., "If ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious." With Windisch, Knopf and Gunkel we can hardly fail to identify "the Lord" with the "exalted Christ," [2] especially as in verse four they are coming to a living stone which is Christ Himself. Our Apostle certainly did not obtain his illustration from St. Paul, as the latter uses "milk" in a totally different sense, as may be seen from 1 Corinthians iii. 1–3. St. Peter's usage would again point to such teaching as that given in the sixth chapter of St. John. Neither does St. Peter avoid the expression "In Christ," cf. 1 Peter iii. 16, v. 10, 14. Is it however necessary for us to take for granted that the expression "In Christ," which so constantly occurs in St. Paul's writings, is borrowed from him? rather than that it presupposes such teaching as that which underlies the fifteenth chapter of St. John, and is to be found elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel?

The view which we have set out to demonstrate, namely, that there is a background common to the writings both of St. Peter and St. John, is further strengthened by the special title of Shepherd which St. Peter attributes to our Lord, cf. 1 Peter ii. 25, v. 2, 4. Such a title never occurs in St. Paul's epistles.[3] It is true that in the Synoptists the idea of Christ as a Shepherd is by no means absent, but the

[1] *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1917), Dritter Band, pp. 264, 265.

[2] Windisch, *Die Katholischen Briefe in dem Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1911), p. 56; Knopf, Meyer's Kommentar, *Die Briefe Petri und Judä* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1912), 7th ed., pp. 87–88; Gunkel, op. cit., p. 266.

[3] The nearest approach to it is in Acts xx. 28, where the Church is called the flock of God, and in Ephesians iv. 11, where the Apostle speaks of pastors, ποιμένες. In the Epistle to the Hebrews xiii. 20, τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν occurs, but the epistle was written after the 1st of Peter.

dominant thought there is rather that of leadership than of the pastoral care of those committed to His charge. In reading through the Apostle's letter we are struck by the note of tender sympathy combined with firmness and strength. He is fully alive to the dangers ahead, but sees how, through them all, the flock can be kept and tended by the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and would direct their faith towards Him " whom not having seen they love ; in whom, though now they see Him not, yet believing they rejoice greatly, with joy unspeakable and full of glory " (1 Pet. i. 8, cf. St. John xx. 29). The figure of the Good Shepherd pourtrayed for us in St. John x. 1–17 here appears before us, and what is more, the whole spirit pervading his work recalls to us that scene in the early morning when the Lord reinstated the disciple on the shores of the Lake, and gave him the commission to feed and tend the sheep and lambs of His flock (cf. 1 Pet. v. 1–4, and St. John xxi. 15–22).

This is a fitting occasion to allude to St. Peter's Christology. The sinlessness of Christ, which has ever been the profound conviction of the Christian Church from the earliest times down to our own day, is asserted (1 Pet. i. 19, ii. 22, cf. iii. 18, and St. John viii. 46, cf. xviii. 38); and in one passage at least Christ's pre-existence is clearly affirmed, " Who was foreknown indeed before the world, but was manifested at the end of the times for your sakes " (1 Pet. i. 20), the word manifested, *φανερώθεντος*, clearly implying the revelation of an existence previously hidden. St. Paul also held the same doctrine (cf. Gal. iv. 4, Rom. viii. 3, 2 Cor. viii. 9, Phil. ii. 6, Col. i. 16), but it does not occur in the Synoptists. On the other hand it is found in the Fourth Gospel (cf. the Prologue, vi. 50, 51, 58 ; viii. 58 ; xvii. 5, 6, 24).[1]

[1] For the Christology of St. Peter's first Epistle, cf. Dr. H. R. Mackintosh,

If one of the original Twelve could write a letter taking for granted Regeneration, union with Christ, and a Christology ranging from the Lord's Pre-existence to His present intimate care for His suffering people, and whose love extends not only to those who come after Him, but also to the generations of men who preceded His coming (1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6), it is well for us not to close our minds to the possibility that another disciple should, a quarter of a century later, produce such a work as we now possess in the Fourth Gospel, in which these truths are expanded and emphasised. One further passage must be taken into account. In the injunctions which the Apostle gives to the younger members of the Church to be subject to their elders, he bids them gird themselves with humility (1 Pet. v. 5), the Greek word *ἐγκομβοῦσθαι* (*ἐγκόμβωμα*) signifying the girding on of the apron, the preparation of the servants for their work. It is not far fetched to see here a reminiscence of St. John xiii. 4, when the Lord rose from supper and laid aside His garments, and He took a towel and girded Himself, that never-to-be-forgotten scene in which Peter took such a specially personal part. If this is allowed to be the case, we have, if needs be, a further confirmation of much that took place in the thirteenth chapter of St. John.

Thirdly, the apostolic authorship of the First Epistle of St. Peter has been disputed on the ground that the character revealed therein does not accord with what we know of St. Peter either in the Synoptists or the Acts of the Apostles,

The Doctrine of Christ (T. T. Clarke, Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 45–48. Knopf, op. cit., pp. 56–57, considers that 1 Peter i. 11 refers to the Pre-existence of Christ. It is interesting to notice that the particular expression St. Peter uses of the Pre-existence of Christ is never used by St. Paul in this connexion, except in the Pastoral Epistles. It is used in the first Epistle of St. John, 1 John i. 2, iii. 5–8. In St. John xvii. 5, 6 mention is made of "before the world was," and the manifestation of God's name by our Lord (cf. 1 Pet. i. 11).

and in the Epistle to the Galatians. St. Peter was the Apostle of the Circumcision, but the letter which bears his name is almost exclusively addressed to Gentiles,[1] and displays a breadth of view which is hardly conceivable. Besides this, the diffidence, humility and caution everywhere displayed in the letter are characteristics hard to reconcile with the self-confident and impetuous Peter so familiar to us. In like manner it is objected that John the son of Zebedee could not be the Beloved Disciple who wrote the Fourth Gospel, which is addressed to a Gentile community and contains a world-wide gospel. The allegation has also been brought against St. John that he too is "impetuous and intolerant, not to say vindictive, his ambitions are self-centred, he fails to rise to spiritual conceptions"; while on the contrary the Beloved Disciple has no unpleasant traits in his character, even "if the conjectured real man was by no means the placid and effeminate personage of conventional representation";[2] our purpose is not to attempt to answer either of these difficulties, but merely to point out their similarity. Once more in this particular respect their characters and respective writings stand or fall together. Notwithstanding these difficulties, should we assert, as we believe we have every right to do, that St. Peter wrote the first epistle, similar reasoning will brush away the same arguments brought against the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

Lastly, Dr. Salmon many years ago set forth an imposing array of resemblances between Philo and the First Epistle of St. Peter. He in turn had taken them from Dr. Gwynn. With characteristic caution he refused to say whether direct

[1] The view that the readers of the epistle were converted Jews is abandoned by the majority of scholars. B. Weiss is an important exception.

[2] Cf. Dr. Latimer Jackson, *The Problem of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge University Press, 1918), pp. 158–163, from whose book these quotations are taken.

obligation could be proved, but went so far as to claim that at the time the first epistle was written, Philo had probably been for a dozen years or so the author most read by educated Jews at Rome ; and that therefore one who mixed in that circle, and engaged in its discussions, could hardly escape at least indirect influence from Philo.[1] Of course it is permissible to say that Silvanus and not St. Peter had been influenced by Philo, but at all events when the Fourth Gospel and the supposed debt it owes to Philo is the object of so much discussion, whatever opinion may be hazarded, it should not be allowed to affect the question of authorship. Should the case be made out that in the seventh decade of the first century one of the original disciples was influenced by Philo, we must be prepared to allow that another of the Twelve might be similarly affected.

Many of the complex problems which have gathered round the authorship of the Fourth Gospel present themselves in a simpler form when studied in the light of the First Epistle of St. Peter.

We would therefore suggest that a very careful and thorough examination of this epistle should be made in future dicussions of the Johannine question.[2]

W. H. Rigg.

[1] Cf. *Introduction to the New Testament* (John Murray, London, 1897), 8th ed., pp. 506, 507.

[2] For excellent discussions of the First Epistle of St. Peter, cf. Moffatt, op. cit., pp. 318–344 ; and Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. pp. 779–796, article on Peter, First Epistle of, by the present Bishop of Ely.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM,

THE DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

In the *Zeitschrift für die altestamentliche Wissenschaft* (xi. pp. 161–255), G. Hölscher argues exhaustively that the so-called "Deuteronomic" code is a century later than the discovery of the law-book by Josiah's officials in 620 B.C. He bases his argument on an analysis of Deuteronomy. Thus the object of the second speech of Moses (v. 1–4, 6–30) is to fit the decalogue (of Exodus xx.) into the Deuteronomic code, and the decalogue, according to Hölscher, was drawn up during the exile. Then an allusion like that in vi. 15 ("lest he destroy thee from off the face of the earth") is held to imply that Judah had been deported. The original law of xii. 13–28 (strictly speaking, 13–14, 17–19, 21–22, 26–27), to which verses 2–7 and 8–12 are later additions, is held not to reflect the keen opposition of Josiah to outside sanctuaries. Again, the denunciations of seducing prophets and seers, in xiii. 1–19, is pronounced incompatible with the pre-exilic conditions. Hölscher goes through the book in this way, seeing in its present shape not different editions of an early code, but an early code with additions, and even an early code which is not as early as Josiah's reign. The legislation shows, he thinks, an idealising tendency which works because the writer or writers were no longer in contact with the actual conditions of the kingdom (e.g. xiii. 2 f., xvii. 14 f.). Hölscher is at pains to show that neither Jeremiah nor Ezekiel was acquainted with the Deuteronomic code (pp. 233 f.). W. Spiegelberg, in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (1923, 481–482), comes forward with a corroborative detail. He points to the language of xi. 4 ("and how the Lord hath destroyed them unto this day"—"them" being the Egyptians) as implying that the Egyptian power had been for some time crushed. This can only mean the period after the rough handling of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C., and Spiegelberg is prepared to regard 525 B.C. as a *terminus a quo* for the composition of Deuteronomy. Incidentally, he identifies the foe of xxviii. 49 f. ("the Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth," etc.) with the Scythians.

TWO PARALLELS FROM PLATO.

In the *Neutestamentliche Forschungen* (1922, pp. 179 f.), a contributor from Christiania notes two interesting parallels to the New Testament, from a Platonic dialogue.

(i.) Compare 2 Corinthians iii. 2 f. : *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν . . . ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι κ.τ.λ.*, with the words in the *Phædrus* (276 A, etc.) about the duty of the truly wise man, like a gardener, sowing his seeds in the congenial soil of a receptive spirit. Such an intelligent man, says Socrates, *οὐκ ἄρα σπουδῇ αὐτὰ ἐν ὕδατι γράψει μέλανι σπείρων διὰ καλάμου κ.τ.λ.* "He will not trouble himself to write them in water, sowing them in ink with a pen." The truth which is implanted in a receptive pupil's heart and mind has a far better chance of doing its work in the world than if it were merely committed to paper. This parallel was noted already, however, by Dr. Plummer in his International Critical Commentary, as the contributor admits.

(ii.) Compare Phædrus 252 A—the passage about the soul clinging to a friend, never leaving him if it can help it, but esteeming him more than anyone else, even members of one's own family (*ἀλλὰ μητέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πάντων λέλησται*)—with the language and tone of Matt. x. 37 f. or Luke xiv. 26 f., where Jesus says : *εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρὸς με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀδελφάς . . . οὐ δύναταί μου μαθητὴς εἶναι.* A modern illustration of the demand made by Jesus may be found in Garibaldi's words, when he left Rome in the difficult days of 1849 : "Let him who loves his country follow me. I offer neither pay nor quarters nor provisions, I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles, and death." Or in the words which Byron puts into the mouth of the Italian patriot in *Marino Faliero* (act ii. scene 2) :

> "Such ties are not
> For those who are call'd to the high destinies
> Which purify corrupted commonwealths ;
> We must forget all feelings save the *one*—
> We must resign all passions save our country."

REVIEWS.

The Book of Revelation. Theory of the Text: Rearranged Text and Translation: Commentary. By John Oman. Pp. xi. 168. Cambridge University Press. 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

Principal Oman has made an unexpected and most interesting contribution to the interpretation of the Book of Revelation. The circumstances in which his work had its origin are noteworthy. He had become a member of Prof. Burkitt's Seminar, and the subject of study was the Apocalypse. The results of investigation left a confused impression upon his mind. He felt baffled by the problem, and so set himself to a personal and independent examination of the book. The former negations were transformed "into three positive convictions. (1) The style and thought alike guarantee unity of authorship. (2) The literary sources are almost entirely the prophets, and most of all Daniel. (3) The visions are transparencies of what are for us abstractions, but were for the ancient world concrete, if ideal realities, and not accounts of material supernatural happenings." On the basis of these convictions, some parts became distinctly clearer, while the rest remained confused. He was driven to the conclusion that the cause of the contrast must be disarrangement of the text.

Some evidence of this was quite apparent. Thus, although pain and sorrow are described (xxi. 4) as having passed away for ever, it is found in a subsequent passage (xxii. 2) that nations need healing. The Holy City is represented as coming (xxi. 9), but in an earlier passage (xx. 4) the saints are described as sitting in it on thrones. The prophetic call is not found "immediately after the messages to the Churches, as it ought to be," but considerably later, in chapter x. When he began to transpose the sections in the order which commended itself from an independent view of the contents of the book, he made the extraordinary discovery that the sections, as he was induced to reshape them, were of uniform length. He made the transpositions with the help of Gebhardt's edition of the Greek New Testament, and found that the usual length of the sections as reconstructed was thirty-three lines in Gebhardt's text. This criterion of length was of service in enabling him to determine a certain number of

smaller glosses, which included practically all the doublets. But it also served to indicate a variety of glosses which "had a curious family likeness of dull comment." Dr. Oman supplies a full list of his sections, including glosses, with notes appended to illuminate the glosses. He submitted his numerical tests to various cross-tests, which in no way invalidated his former results.

But let it not for a moment be supposed that the volume is merely the record of a mechanical calculation. Chapter i. gives the most suggestive hints as to the reasons which led Dr. Oman to decide upon the order he adopted, and these are greatly amplified on pp. 17–19 of chapter iii. ("The Original Text"). In chapter ii. he carefully examines "the work of the editor," and in this connexion discusses his relation to the author, and his capacity for his own part in the production of "Revelation." Further chapters deal with "The Vision and the Author" and "Place and Date." Two very interesting notes are concerned with "The Present Arrangement of the Text" and "First Century Books," the external make-up of the latter being minutely considered.

The sections, as they have taken shape in his mind, are printed in Greek, showing where glosses occur, and Part iii. of the volume contains a number of careful paragraphs examining the contents of the Apocalypse, and at the same time justifying the new arrangement of the material.

Perhaps what seems to be the mechanical character of the criterion employed may prejudice the minds of some readers. But one has often wondered why the circumstances of transmission were not more frequently considered in connexion with some of the literary problems of the New Testament. We are naturally reminded of the acknowledged disarrangements in the Gospel of John, to which Dr. Oman makes no reference. It is interesting to find in Mr. Warburton Lewis' little book on these "Disarrangements" that he is inclined to accept Spitta's theory that "the displacements [in John's Gospel] have been displacements of pages of equal size." The unit Mr. Lewis finds verified in his problem is 18½ lines of Westcott and Hort's small text.

Whether Dr. Oman's re-construction is adopted as it stands or not, it is safe to say that he has certainly illuminated the perplexing content of "Revelation." H. A. A. Kennedy.

Byways in Early Christian Literature : Studies in the Uncanonical Gospels and Acts, by Adam Fyfe Findlay, D.D.; pp. vii. + 354. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1923 (= Kerr Lectures for 1920–1921). 10*s*.

It is only within recent years that the apocryphal literature of early Christianity has received serious and scholarly study, and so far this has largely remained in the hands of specialists whose labours are too learned and technical to appeal to the general reader. This want of a readable introduction to the subject Dr. Findlay here endeavours to supply ; the result is an interesting and sound account of the contents and the value of these apocrypha, set forth with sober and careful criticism, based on a considerable first-hand knowledge both of them, the ancient testimonies and appraisements of their worth, and of the copious modern literature on the subject. There have been several attempts made, within this century, to write such introductions (as e.g. Snell, *Value of the Apocrypha*, London, 1905 ; Sedgwick, *Story* of *the Apocrypha*, London, 1906) ; but Dr. Findlay's lectures come as a very acceptable addition, whose unobtrusive learning and due proportion between description and discussion make it admirably fitted for the purpose aimed at. Here and there one may possibly dissent from his conclusions (e.g., p. 342, note 262 on the gnosticism of the Acts of Thomas, where cf. Anz, *zur Frage nach d. Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, pp. 36–41), but on the whole they are commendably sober, and the disentangling of the strands of Gnostic thought is discriminating and lucid.

Though immediately challenging comparison with the canonical books, and as immediately revealing the immeasurable superiority of these, this apocryphal literature rather provides material for the study of Church History than sources for the understanding of Christian origins. Hence Dr. Findlay wisely defines his object as being to learn " what light they have to cast on the religious and ethical conceptions of the communities they were designed to serve " (p. 3). It is important to distinguish between the learned and official expression of Christianity in any age and the popular understanding and acceptance of it as a system of faith and morals ; if Arianism, for example, was " an epidemic of the schools and theologians from which the laity revolted," this revolt, in the milder form of indifference or incapacity, is

equally manifested towards the highest Christian standards of the time. It is this popular conception—or misconception—of our religion which is the necessary, though difficult and almost at times intangible, foil and complement to the " classical " expression given by the great Christian thinkers and writers. But it is too much to say, as Dr. Findlay does (p. 15), that " the conciliation of the pagan world through the acceptance of its thoughts and superstitions became the definite policy of the Church " ; the quotation from Bigg alleging the (unwilling) acquiescence of Gregory Thaumaturgus should be confronted with Augustine's determined effort to end such practices (see, e.g., *Epp.* 22 and 29, Sermon 311, etc. ; and in spite of his naïve statement of the reason for their toleration till then), and with the reiterated efforts of the Councils to expel them, from Augustine's own lifetime (Conc. Carth. III., an. 397, Canon 30) to Winchester, 1240, and Avignon, 1549. The Apocryphal writings destroy the myth of a pure primitive Christianity, and reveal the Church struggling then as now with the problem, the atmosphere and the spirit of the age.

One characteristic feature of the time of the composition of these early documents Dr. Findlay finds manifested in their craving for the miraculous ; instructive as his discussion is, it hardly does justice to this trait.[1] The whole atmosphere of the Apocrypha has striking affinity with that of Apuleius and Apollonius of Tyana, and a comparison would be useful. Next, the strength of the doctrine of good works is rightly insisted on (p. 19, " the emphasis in the Christian life came to rest more and more on what men accomplished by their own endeavours "). Third, the influence of the current dualism in encouraging Docetism is well discussed. Over against these the sobriety, reticence and historical reality of the canonical books stands out in striking relief.

A definition of the various meanings of " apocrypha " would have been useful (in C.D. 15. 22. 4 Augustine defines the word : *apocryphae nuncupantur eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus ;* Jerome, Ep. 107. 12 ; Hugo of St. Victor's comprehen-

[1] Reference may be made to Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first Thirteen Centuries* (1923), Vol. I., ch. 16: " The Christian Apocrypha, and Book II. generally, " Early Christian Thought."

sive definition in Migne, P.L. 175. 18); as would have been an account of the use made of such writings by heretics and others (e.g. Tert., *Carn. Resurr.*, 63; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 3. 4; the Priscillianists, etc.; see, in general, Piontek: *Die kath. Kirche u. die haeret. Apostelgeschichten bis zum Ausgange des VI Jahrh.*, 1908). But it is ungrateful to complain, though Dr. Findlay may take it as a result of the interest whetted by his book. When it is added that the Indices are full and, after a considerable use of them, accurate, nothing need be added to commend a conscientious, safe and attractive introduction to an interesting but little known field. J. H. Baxter.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

The Great Fellowship. By the Right Rev. Frank Theodore Woods, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.*

On leaving Peterborough for Winchester, Dr. Woods publishes six diocesan addresses to the former sphere of his labours, by way of valedictory. In part, they are of local interest. This is inevitable, for Dr. Woods has printed them as they were written or spoken to definite audiences on definite occasions. But a wider appeal comes through his pages. He writes sensibly and warmly about the functions of the Church of England, and a genuinely pastoral note of vision and guidance is to be heard. He pleads for a comprehensive, tolerant catholicism in the Church. In one of the addresses he declares that "the world's chief need is converted people—men and women who, making contact with God, have changed their minds, have, in fact, exchanged their preconceived or hereditary notions for 'the mind that is in Christ Jesus.' Can we produce them? Help them to make that contact?" In another searching sermon he denounces the opposition and indifference of many to the League of Nations. "We seem driven to the conclusion that the Powers of Europe cannot be trusted to keep their word. They undertake to disarm. Some have not, and the others dare not. Meanwhile the people are still weary and war-worn, but are wistfully holding on to a hope for a happier world which, like the sun on those winter afternoons, seems to be steadily sinking below the horizon."

Notes on the Revelation. By P. P. Cutchey. Elliot Stock: 2*s.* net.

THIS pamphlet is a pathetic effort to explain the book of Revelation as a subtle collection of predictions. The writer thinks that to read the text in this way is likely to rouse deeper interest in prophecy and Scripture. The real effect, upon most intelligent minds, would be to have the whole conception of Scripture and prophecy lowered; inspiration is surely something nobler than the effort of God to wrap up hints of the future in riddling allusions. A specimen of the argument may be given. In Revelation xvi., "the second angel poured out his vial on the sea," is the prediction of the naval war in 1794, when Nelson appeared. And, by extending the French Revolution from 1789 to 1815, the writer somehow gets a symbolic prediction of the forty-two weeks, which is corroborated by the fact that the length of the Seine from Paris to the sea is about 200 miles, or 1,600 furlongs. This, we are invited to note, corresponds to Revelation xiv.: "The winepress was trodden . . . and blood came out, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs," i.e. the bloodshed of the Revolution!

* * * * *

A SIMILAR illusion and delusion, fostered by the misreading of prophecy, is carefully and patiently exposed by Mr. S. H. Wilkinson in his *British-Israelitism Examined* (London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson. 2*s.* 6*d.*). Anyone who is troubled by people suffering from British-Israelitism, will do well to procure this book. Mr. Wilkinson is most respectful; but he is unsparing in his criticism of the pseudo-history which underlies the British-Israelite hypothesis. "There be few, very few, that will own themselves in a mistake, though all the world see them to be in downright nonsense." He quotes this from Swift, as the heading of one chapter, and it is a relevant quotation. In his own words, "British-Israelitism is a proposition outside the realm of consistent Bible exegesis or credible history."

* * * * *

WE have to welcome cordially *The Crozer Quarterly*, issued by the Faculty of the Crozer Theological Seminary at Chester, Pennsylvania. This is the first number, and it is characterised by a progressive, reverent spirit, which is much needed in these days of theological reaction. Professor Matthews, who writes

on the preaching value of the Old Testament, for example, has some candid and frank things to say, which show how superficial are the so-called "fundamental" theories about the Bible. He warns his readers against the undue love for stray phrases, like "Moses hid his face" or "Stand still." "How these lend themselves to the racy imagination of, I shall not say the preacher, but of the impressionist! But after all the fruit gathered is only wind-falls. They may serve a good purpose, but they are not likely to add to Biblical knowledge, nor to develop the historical sense of the hearer. Why not take 'Humpty Dumpty' or 'Mother Hubbard' as the point of departure and see the method in all its glory?" We know such sermons on this side of the Atlantic, and it is healthy to find this American magazine alive to their unreality.

* * * * *

Mr. James Robson, of Sheikh Othman, has written a graphic popular sketch of the founder of the local mission to Arabs, *Ion Keith-Falconer of Arabia* (Hodder and Stoughton, 3*s.* 6*d.*). It is a volume in the Master Missionary Series, specially suited for Bible-classes and young people. Keith-Falconer was a brilliant young Scotsman, a Cambridge athlete, and a scholar, who found his vocation in starting a mission at Aden in 1885 under the Free Church of Scotland. His knowledge of Oriental languages equipped him for dealing with Islam. But he died early. Mr. Robson brings out the heroic and inspiring qualities of the man. It is a short story, but Keith-Falconer's short life was enough to reveal great capacities, and his memory is still an incentive.

* * * * *

A History of the English Baptists. By W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S. London: Charles Griffin & Co. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Whitley's Angus Lecture is a book which comes out of long study and research. It is one of the ecclesiastical monographs which may fairly be ranked as reliable accounts and estimates. After an introductory chapter on the ideal and aim of Church-life, he begins his survey of the three centuries, from 1609, when John Smyth baptized himself and his adherents. There can be do doubt, Dr. Whitley thinks, "that the act was the application of water to the head." He claims that, in tracing the movement, and "frankly recounting facts in which

no pride can be felt," he has now and then criticised Baptists as well as other Churches plainly. This is a just claim. Thus (p. 325), in speaking about education, he observes that " at every stage Free Church statesmen have been more alert to oppose Anglican domination than to evolve a constructive policy." By 1870, he adds, " Baptists became quite negligible in public education, with no longer any clear policy." Dr. Whitley brings out the leading movements in each period, without becoming either diffuse or too detailed. We congratulate him on an effective bit of denominational history.

* * * * *

A vigorous specimen of modern Baptist sermons or religious addresses is published by Rev. T. Wilkinson Riddle : *The Quest of Truth* (Kingsgate Press : 3*s.* 6*d.*). One of Mr. Riddle's convictions is that " the next revival of religion will be a revival of sympathy and understanding." He does not mean by this an evaporation of principle. His own addresses show a definite grasp of what he believes. But he notes the " hard and graceless dogmatism," which hampers the search for the truth about life and God. On this, as well as on some other popular topics, he speaks his mind plainly. Thus, on the controversy over inspiration, he declares : " It may be clever (in a third-rate music-hall) for traditionalists to speak of those who share Dr. Fosdick's view, as the ' funny-monkeyists,' but it is a type of controversy which manifestly has not the Spirit of Christ, and it is time we said so. Nor can it be said that some of the popular expositions of advanced Higher Criticism have earned any better word of commendation."

* * * * *

Professor B. W. Bacon, however, would probably please Mr. Riddle better. With the American reactionaries in view, he has written a moderate, critical, and religious volume on *He Opened to Us the Scriptures* (New York : Macmillan Co., 4*s.* 6*d.*), which, in five chapters, puts the essential truths about inspiration. He shows how the modern conception of inspiration can rightly claim to reproduce the Spirit of Jesus, how the bibliolatry of literal inspiration is a recrudescence of the rabbinic and Talmudic theory, and how " the textual and higher critics of the future will continue more and more to be what the greatest of them have been in the past, men of whom it could be said,

'The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up!'" Professor Bacon also proves that the sense of religious and moral values in the Old Testament dominates Paul's attitude as well as that of Jesus. His final chapter on the witness of the Spirit urges that "the New Testament supplies not the finished product but the ferment out of which must come the next great secular development of religion, the advance from letter to spirit, from the use of the records and documents of religious experience in the past as if conformity to their standards guaranteed eternal life, to a use of them as means of contact with the life of God in man." It is a profit to have so positive a statement of the fundamental issue by a critic of Dr. Bacon's standing.

* * * * *

The American Jewish Year-Book. Vol. xxv.: 1923. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.

To the Gentile reader of this useful year-book, Miss London's article on portraits of early American Jews is of special interest; it is illustrated by photographs. Another article calls attention to the fact that of the 107 persons who have been awarded the Nobel prize, Einstein is the ninth Jew. The chief Rabbi of England, Dr. J. H. Hertz, sends a pamphlet called *A Decade of Woe and Hope* (Oxford: Humphrey Milford), bewailing the recent pogroms in the Ukraine. He gives reasons for believing that bad as the Soviet policy is, the fate of Russian Jews, when a monarchical reaction comes, will be worse than ever. "In European history there have been horrible outbreaks of murderous fanaticism, such as the Sicilian Vespers and St. Bartholomew's Night. But their recurrence, especially in our own day, is altogether unthinkable. Jewish massacres alone—a leading publicist reminds us—remain unchanged by the lapse of time, nay they increase in volume and in murderous fury."

CURRENT ISSUES.

When Professor Buchanan Gray died at Oxford he had ready his presidential address to the Society of Historical Theology. This has now been printed in the Proceedings of the Society for 1922–1923. The subject is Hebrew Monotheism.

* * * * *

Dr. Gray does not believe in a primitive Hebrew Monotheism at all. He points out that down to the exile the Hebrews were not even a "monolatrous" nation; they did not, as a whole, worship one God. The worship of Yahweh was often combined with that of other deities. Even the first Commandment assumes that other gods, other national gods, did exist; it forbids Israel to worship them, and, as we know, Israel did not always obey the command. The first time that real monotheism is propounded is after the exile, by the great prophet who is unluckily called "The Second Isaiah." As Dr. Gray shows, "in almost identical terms with Muhammed the prophet asserts that there is no god but one; only with him, this one sole god is the god who had grown familiar to Israel as Yahweh, though not generally credited till now with this uniqueness; whereas to Muhammed the one god whose sole existence he proclaimed had lost practically all hold on the attention or affection of the Arabs."

* * * * *

Now Xenophanes, the Greek philosopher, was a contemporary of the "Second Isaiah," and Xenophanes has been claimed as an exponent of monotheism. But the paradox is, as Dr. Gray remarks, that the first contact between Greek civilisation and Jewish life led to a temptation to abandon monotheism. He also declines to believe that the "Second Isaiah" owes much or indeed anything to Zoroastrianism. Indeed, he agrees with those who regard it possible and even reasonable "to explain

the figure and functions of Satan in Zechariah and Job as original Jewish developments."

* * * * *

Such is Dr. Gray's thesis. In Hebrew religion, he insists, the moral or ethical element dominated the speculative. It even dominated speculation, till the question of evil was left unanswered. Religious experience always throws up the problem of sin and evil, as a source of moral dualism. How is the origin of evil, or how is a personal evil spirit, compatible with the one God ? Does not the universe imply a moral disunity ? Judaism in the Old Testament looks at this problem, and then looks away. Zoroastrianism postulated a sort of co-eternal Author of evil, but Israel clung to unity in the Godhead. " Job in the end," as Dr. Gray observes, " recognises the problem as insoluble ; a moral disunity in life has been considered and is left unexplained; the intense reality and unity of God remains."

* * * * *

In Dr. Gore's new book on *The Holy Spirit and the Church* there is a significant admission about immortality. He rightly argues that Jesus sometimes appealed to fear. " Fear him who after he has killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him." Dr. Gore quotes this, adding that " the repudiation of this sort of fear seems to me to be one of the silliest features in modern religion." There is perhaps one even more silly feature, the sentimental tendency to regard God as a magnified parent, as if that embraced all the facts and factors in the moral situation of sin and guilt before the Divine Love. However, the wholesome emotion of fear and awe does need to be recalled. Dr. Gore's warning is sound on this point.

* * * * *

He goes on to consider, in passing, the three alternatives with regard to the future of the impenitent. Universalism ? That he regards as incompatible with the New Testament. Everlasting punishment ? But " everlasting " is not an adjective of time, in the New Testament, but of intensity ; the apocalyptic images have to be " translated into non-temporal ideas, if we are to understand them truly." Conditional Immortality ? Well, Dr. Gore seems to incline towards this possibility. He points to language in St. Paul " which seems to identify the

ultimate issue of things with the absolute and universal triumph of good—when God shall be 'all in all'—which has made some thoughtful men conceive that the state of the lost may carry with it the ultimate dissolution of personality and personal consciousness." And he adds, "I cherish this hope, finding the idea of actually everlasting torment unthinkable."

* * * * *

It is "an uncertain interpretation," he admits. But the recent tendency to query whether immortality is an essential quality of the soul has evidently impressed him. It is the theory of potential immortality, as worked out in Dr. R. G. Macintyre's book on *The Other Side of Death*, and, from the point of view of New Testament exegesis, it might be defended as a fair inference from the language of the Fourth Gospel. Probably, the emphasis on moral responsibility is enough. If we argue speculatively from that, contending that real life is life in accordance with God, then other life may be viewed as so unreal as to lose any quality of permanence. But the argument is a metaphysical inference, which will be a relief to some, just as it may be a horror to others.

TEN BEST BOOKS ON THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I FANCY even the truly learned, for whom, needless to say, I cannot speak, would find it difficult to choose from the extensive literature on the Fourth Gospel with the certainty that they had chosen what is best.

With two exceptions, which are specified below, I have set down in my list the books that have helped me most. I have done so in the humble hope that the experience of an old minister who wound up his pulpit work with a systematic course of lectures on the Fourth Gospel, conceived on modern lines, may be useful to some ministers in active service, who feel that they ought to do something educative for their congregations with a book, which the most devout of their people read probably more intently than they do any

other part of the Bible. A good many ministers are deterred from the task by a fear, in part honourable, but in the main inexcusable, lest they should wound susceptibilities which they ought to spare. The minister, say, is himself inclined to the traditional view of the Gospel. He " sees no reason " why it should not have been written by the Apostle John, and should not be the story of an eye-and-ear-witness who supplements but does not in any way contradict the testimony of the synoptic Gospels, yet he has the uncomfortable feeling that this view, plausible in itself and backed by the great learning associated with some of the names about to be mentioned, is yet not so unassailable as he once supposed, and that the time may have come for placing the Gospel in a light that will show its independence of the view that may be taken of its authorship or of its relation to *history*, in the literal sense of that word. It is not too much to say that discomfort of this kind is in our day inevitable, and that there is only one way of dealing with it. We (I mean especially we *ministers*) must look at the facts and probabilities for ourselves, starting of course from the experimental conviction of the unique worth of the Johannine Gospel as a testimony to Jesus the Son of God and to the grace of fellowship with the Father through Him. The result of such investigation can be good only. The good will be twofold: Firstly, we shall know the things in or about the Gospel that are *certain*, and on these we shall nourish our initial sense of its worth. Secondly, we shall speak with frankness of our *un*certainties. It can never be right to express certainty regarding any view which we feel to be only probable. But to speak frankly on the merits of some view —say of the " disciple whom Jesus loved "—may be in a high degree instructive. The sequence of the following list is not intended as an order of merit, though it is to some extent an order of time:

1. Westcott, *Gospel of St. John.*
2. Luthardt, *Das Johanneische Evangelium* (Eng. Tr., T. and T. Clark).
3. Dods, "The Gospel of St. John" in the *Expositor's Bible*, and "John" in *Expositor's Greek Testament.*
4. Wendt, *Das Evangelium Johannis* (Tr. T. and T. Clark).
5. Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.*
6. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel* (in series, "The Literature of the New Testament."
7. Heitmüller, "Das Johanneische Evangelium" (in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments neu übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt*).
8. Abbott, *The Fourfold Gospel* (four volumes and an Introductory volume).
9. Burney, *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel.*
10. Schmiedel, *Die Johanneischen Schriften* (Eng. Tr., A. and C. Black).

Nos. 1–5 represent writers who with more or less confidence believe that the Gospel was written by the Apostle John. Nos. 1–3 represent a practically absolute confidence, and to those who cannot share that confidence it may appear a sufficient reason for not neglecting the works of the learned authors (1 and 2) that the latter are so unconscious of error.

In November, 1887, I marked Westcott's rapt face among the worshippers in the chancel of King's College, Cambridge. No one had prepared me for the spectacle, but my guide to the place informed me after the service that what had struck me laid an habitual spell on some of the worshippers. Eight years before this, in the winter of 1879–80, I sat under Luthardt as a student in Leipzig. I cannot profess much benefit from the writings of these eminently learned and good men. But the experience of many has been different,

and my impression of their personalities is too deep to suffer me to pass them by. Let me say only this. Westcott was a saint and a mystic ; so was " John." And Luthardt was a *commanding* (I use the word in an almost physical sense), dogmatic theologian, and " John " also was " John the Theologian." The case of No. 3 is different. I confess to having found it difficult to forgive Marcus Dods from the heart for so completely ignoring (or, if you will, *evading*) the Johannine problem. But here again memory has come to my aid. I remember his chapter on the " Bread of Life " (John vi.), and I feel that everything should be forgiven to such a prince of exegetes and feeder of souls. At the same time one has confidence in saying to young ministers that the Dods' attitude to the Fourth Gospel is one that is not honourably possible to *them*.

Nos. 4 and 5 may be defined as *transitional*. They form a bridge, I should say a remarkably well-built bridge, between the traditional and the modern view of the Fourth Gospel. The bridge is none the less excellent that both these writers reach comparatively conservative conclusions. They do not proclaim their conclusions as certainties, but only as reasonable hypotheses. The investigation of the last score of years has not confirmed Wendt's theory of what would be practically composite authorship of the Gospel. Yet I am confident in saying that for many ministers, particularly in Scotland, the appearance of Wendt's *John* in English dress coincided with their awaking from " dogmatic slumber " on the subject of the Fourth Gospel. The book is still most readable. It is, e.g., particularly good on the Johannine view of the vitalising quality of the sayings of Jesus. At the time it appeared it made many of us feel that the theory or assumption that " John " could be treated as an extra witness to the facts about Jesus on a level with Mark and Matthew-Luke was no longer tenable. And it did us this

service none the less effectively that its argument was directed largely—or even mainly—to the proof of an apostolic kernel in the Gospel.

Drummond's book appeared in 1903, a year or two after Wendt's. I agree with the reviewer who began with words to the effect that here we had at last a " scientific " treatment in a book of English growth of the Johannine Gospel. The trend of criticism, since Drummond wrote, has been rather off the direction in which he moved with such care and candour. Yet I venture to doubt whether his argument regarding the supposed Papias-testimony to the early death of John the son of Zebedee has really been refuted, and whether sufficient attention has been paid to his conception of the evangelist as one in the alembic of whose mystical mind—indifferent to a degree to sensible events—reminiscences of Jesus became unconsciously reflections and dogmas, which being vital to his own faith he deemed also vital to the faith of the Church. To those who speak of this view as a psychological impossibility Drummond might very fairly reply that for about 1,700 years Christians, learned and simple, have been unaware of the impossibility, and he might quote again (as he does at p. 33 of his book) the words of Origen about the *spiritual* truth being, " as one might say, preserved in the *bodily* lie." One is tempted to regret that Drummond devoted so much attention to the question of the authorship of the Gospel, even while one sees that that attention was vital to the structure of his argument.[1] For in some degree it has diverted the minds of his readers from his fine scrutiny of the Gospel itself. On the other hand, surely, it is almost impossible to study such a work as the Fourth Gospel and not come under a spell of wonder as to the author's

[1] I should regret also that Drummond occupied so much space with criticism of the views of Martineau. Martineau was a distinguished saintly personality and a poet-philosopher, but he was *not* a New Testament scholar.

personality. Drummond also was, with differences, a saint and mystic like Westcott, and on the whole, looking to scope and style and scholarship, and, not least, to the equipment, peculiar to the author of *Philo-Judæus*, I venture on saying that this book is the best monograph we possess on the Fourth Gospel in our own, or, perhaps, in any language.

Nos. 6, 7 and 10 I am inclined, for various reasons, to take together. They are all, in a pretty distinctive sense, *modern* —sometimes perhaps almost too much so. I have read Professor Scott's book through at least three, probably four, times. I do not like it altogether. He seems somehow to have escaped, not indeed the sense but, the spell of the author. Some will value his book, perhaps, for that very reason.[1] I would rather say that, in spite of this, Professor Scott's book is an amazing, a daring, and—a *valuable* performance. Its educative value lies perhaps mainly in the clear perception it gives the reader of the largeness of the fourth evangelist's debt to the Synoptists. I confess that the picture towards the end of the book of the Evangelist as involved—and that pretty helplessly—in the meshes of a dualistic Alexandrian philosophy leaves me cold, if not inclined to controversy. Heitmüller's work I include in the same category with Scott's. It does not please me altogether. Yet it is probably one of the best (and this is saying much) of the *Schriften*. I used it almost exclusively as an immediate guide in preparing my pulpit lectures, and found it truly helpful. In regard to No. 10 I will only say that I was a pupil of Dr. Schmiedel in Jena as long ago as 1879, and that he has been good enough to correspond with me throughout forty-five years as a friend and theological adviser. This makes it almost impossible for me, even if I had the requisite knowledge, to estimate impartially the

[1] A Bristol scholar recently expressed himself to this effect in my hearing.

worth of his very extensive historico-critical work. The book indicated by No. 10 is, however, studiously popular, It seems to me valuable in the sense it gives one of the penetrativeness of the Alexandrian allegorising in the structure of the Gospel and also in the suggestiveness of many of the details of interpretation of the allegories which it supplies.

Of Mr. Burney's (No. 9) linguistic argument I have no right to say anything except perhaps to ask whether, if the Aramaic origin of the Gospel (in Mr. Burney's sense) were established, it would alter in any way the views of scholars as to the Alexandrian atmosphere of the Fourth Gospel. Not necessarily, one might perhaps say, for, since at least about 1831, when Gfrörer's book, *Philo und die Alexandrinische Theosophie*, appeared, many scholars have believed that Alexandrianism was systematically represented even in Palestine in the first Christian century. How much more in Syria or parts of Asia Minor, or wherever Aramaic was a living tongue.

But apart from its philological argument, Burney's book is valuable for the fresh light it seems to throw on the testimonies of Papias and Irenæus regarding John the Presbyter, and the theory that the disciple whom Jesus loved may have been one who did not travel with Him in Galilee, but was a confidant of His in Jerusalem, who had free access to rabbinical circles there, is attractive. If I cannot have John, the son of Zebedee, I think I should like, next best, to have this Jerusalem disciple of Mr. Burney's, especially if he should turn out to be John the Presbyter of Ephesus.

I have kept the last place—and it is one in esteem as high as the highest—for No. 8. Dr. Abbott is still with us. His books on the Gospels, propædeutic, philological and interpretive, make a considerable library, to which the somewhat elaborate symbolic keys provided by the author are indis-

pensable to the reader who would ascertain at the least expenditure of time just what the author has said on a particular point. Unhappily the Abbott Library is for the average minister almost as impossible a prospect as the possession of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Dr. Abbott has not written a monograph covering all he has to say on the Fourth Gospel. But about a year ago I had the good fortune to become the practical possessor of the five volumes entitled *The Fourfold Gospel* (i.e. four volumes *plus* an Introduction), and I have been browsing in these volumes almost daily since. At first one has a certain fear of not seeing the wood for the trees, but in this book that fear soon vanishes. With a skill possible only to one of his learning and deep religious spirit Abbott reweaves the literary structure of the Gospels to its finishing phase in "John," and he has a perfectly distinct theory as to the relation of "John" to the other three Evangelists. In the introductory volume (*The Fourfold Gospel*, Introduction, 177 pp., Cambridge University Press) he lays down and partly illustrates the thesis that where Matthew-Luke agree in differing from Mark, John "intervenes," where possible, in favour of Mark. Those who cannot afford the five volumes will find it quite worth while to get a hold of the brief introductory volume named above. Dr. Abbott's combination of classical, biblical and patristic lore is, one may well feel, unique. If he does not carry his load of learning "lightly as a flower," he does it sanely and reverently in the manner of one who never forgets God who is above him or the reader who is by his side. So grave a writer cannot be expected to be startling. Yet Dr. Abbott startles us at least once by the suggestion that the "disciple" of John xviii. 15 f., so far from being the "disciple whom Jesus loved," may be none other than Judas Iscariot. Yet if one begins with wondering how such an idea could occur to anybody one may end, after reading Abbott on the point,

with wondering why so reasonable an idea has not occurred sooner or oftener to others besides him. May I convey my sense of the worth of Dr. Abbott's work on the Gospels, and especially on "John," by expressing the hope that some rich friend of the Christian religion may be moved to present copies of Abbott's *Fourfold Gospel* to two or three hundred of the sons of the prophets in this country and America along with an injunction to the recipients to read for the next year or two, on this particular subject, nothing else ?[1]

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

THE TEXT OF HOSEA.

(*Concluded.*)

B. IT is suggested that certain passages are not original because they hold out a hope that the doom announced by the prophet may be averted by repentance and amendment, or they predict a happy future after the penalty has been endured—the so-called Messianic sections. The principal

[1] May I be allowed two quotations ? Both passages occur in the Preface to the last volume of *The Fourfold Gospel*, written during the War. The one has reference to the *author* of the Gospel of John, the other to *writers* upon the four Gospels.

(1) Speaking of the optimism of the Fourth Evangelist, Abbott writes : "This [the optimism] may seem to discredit his Gospel. Optimists in these days (1917) are silent or speak in subdued tones. Men's minds are busy thinking rather about diabolical evil and how to crush it, than about the goodness of God and how to exalt it. Yet these Christians who believe that the Spirit of Christ has seldom had fair play in Christian Churches will not allow themselves to be laughed out of a reasonable optimism based on experience."

(2) Speaking of omissions that might have greatly shortened this laborious work and—"avoided some natural accusations of fancifulness," Abbott decides that they "would not have been fair to the reader. The author is conscious of many faults—especially defects in arrangement and condensation ; but he has desired to keep his conscience clear from at least one defect that he regards as unpardonable—the purchase of a clear, brief and forcible persuasiveness at the cost of fairness to the reader and allegiance to truth."

passages objected to are ii. 1–3 (which has been already discussed), ii. 16–25, iii., v. 15–vi. 3, vi. 11, vii. 1, xi. 10 f., xiv. 2–end.

On this topic critical opinion is on the whole much less strong in favour of interpolation than in regard to the passages discussed in section A. Marti is very resolute in support of these omissions, and is followed to a greater or less degree by Wellhausen, Duhm and Harper; but Steuernagel, Cornill, Valeton and Nowack now take an opposite view.

The general principle laid down by Marti[1] is that Hosea did not contemplate that Jahveh would one day again have compassion on Israel and would conclude a new covenant with him. Any passage which expresses this view is contrary to the real Hosea. An unmerciful judgment is expressed, xiii. 14, "Repentance is hid from mine eyes." Jahveh is not a man to feel pity, xi. 9, xiii. 9. Not only are the sections which contain promises of better things unsuited by their contents to Hosea's range of thought, but they interrupt in a disturbing fashion the threats of misfortune or weaken their importance. The answers to this extraordinary view are many and various. "Hosea expected no *absolute* sentence of ruin. It cannot in any instance be shown that he did so. The passage xi. 8 f. says plainly that Jahveh *cannot* entirely destroy Israel because His heart and His holiness (elevated above all human capability of emotion) do not permit such a thing." [2] "It was from Hosea's personal experiences that the figure of marriage received its true significance, the experiences which he had not made casually, but which forced themselves upon him, as one may say, from an inherent necessity, and called forth from him the conviction that Jahveh could not deal with Israel in any other way. It was in this way that hope for

[1] *Comm.*, p. 9 f. [2] Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch*, p. 608.

the future was born in him. Thus his marriage became for him a figure for Jahveh's relation to Israel." [1] "Plainly then there emerges in i.–iii. this thought, that the sorrow which comes upon Israel stands in the service not so much of punitive justice as rather in that of educative love." [2] "What Hosea i–iii. narrates of his own wedded life is a security that the final purpose of God towards His people is Love, and it belongs to Hosea's temperament that this thought constantly breaks forth in the very midst of threatenings." [3] "Here (chap. xiii.) the end is reached. The ruin will come, and yet no prophecy can conclude thus, so Hosea's cannot. So the most terrible, we might almost say the most irrevocable, threatenings may yet be averted in so far as true conversion follows on their cessation. Therefore the Prophet cannot conclude without having spoken to this effect, and added a statement as to what consequences will ensue." [4]

To understand this question we, like Marti, must seek to find the real Hosea and to learn his sentiments as to Jahveh's relation to Israel. Hosea has no doubt that it is a relation of *Love*. This thought forces itself upon him and breaks out, as v. Orelli remarks, in the midst of fearful denunciations. "When Israel was a child I *loved* him. . . . I taught Ephraim to walk. I took them up in my arms. . . .[5] I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of *Love*. . . . How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I surrender thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me. My compassions are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of my anger. I will not again destroy Ephraim

[1] Nowack, *Comm.*, pp. 6, 7. [2] Ibid., p. 9.
[3] V. Orelli, *Comm.*, p. 26.
[4] Valeton, p. 83.
[5] Reading with LXX *ἀνέλαβων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονά μου . . .* אֶסָּחֵם עַל־זְרוֹעוֹתָי (Harper-Nowack).

. . . For God am I and not man. And I will not come to consume [thee] [1] (xi. 1, 3, 4, 8).

What shall I do with thee, Ephraim ? (vi. 4).

I am Jahveh thy God (and I brought thee [2]) from the land of Egypt.

And thou dost know no God but me.

And there is no Saviour beside me.

It was I who knew thee in the wilderness,

In the land of great drought. . . .

From the power of Sheol I will redeem them.

From death I will ransom them.

Where [3] are thy plagues, O Death ?

Where is thy pestilence, O Sheol ? Repentance is hid from mine eyes (xiii. 4, 5, 14). It is time to seek Jahveh. Till he come and rain righteousness on you " (x. 12).

Such passages as these show us Hosea's underlying faith that the love of Jahveh for Israel was not only manifested in the past, but is felt in the present and will prevail in the future. Jahveh cannot give up Ephraim. He will not destroy him. He will ultimately redeem him. The cities of the plain were irrevocably destroyed. Jahveh will not deal so with Ephraim. While Hosea has such feelings in his heart, and while they find expression in passages whose genuineness, as far as we know, is not disputed, it is impossible to think of him as pronouncing irrevocable, irreversible doom. The passages which are said to be interpolated merely extend and develop the same sentiments as those we have quoted, and it will require a good deal more cutting to make the message of Hosea one of unmitigated gloom unrelieved by a ray of hope. Marti is right when he says that the promises of better things

[1] Pointing בְּעֵר as vii. 6.

[2] LXX adds *καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγόν σε*. Harper inserts אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִיךָ.

[3] Reading אַיֵּה. LXX *ποῦ*.

interrupt threats or weaken their force. That shows the real Hosea, who, while he knows that ruin and suffering must be the lot of Ephraim, yet cannot forget the love of Jahveh, and the educating nature of His punishments. He rejoices to turn from Israel's sins and punishments to Israel's repentance and restoration. It has been remarked[1] that when Hosea has a message of mercy to deliver, his style becomes easy and flowing. Then no sign of present sin or impending misery disturbs his vision. Such was the real Hosea, and to remove these oracles of comfort from his book is simply to ignore his character, to forget his domestic experience, and to represent him as being, what no other prophet ever was, incapable of any hope. We may here quote some of the latest utterances of a great and revered teacher: "It may be questioned whether recent criticism has not shown a tendency to limit unduly the spiritual capabilities and imaginative power of the pre-exilic prophets, and whether, the prophets being poets, guided often, as is clear, by impulse and feeling rather than by strict logic, imperfect connexion with the context (except in extreme cases or where supported by linguistic or other independent indications) forms a sufficient ground of judging a passage to be a later insertion. . . . A picture of restoration at the end of a prophecy does not neutralise previous threatenings. Such pictures are always *ideal* ones; they do not exempt those whom the prophet in question is addressing from the judgment of exile or disaster which has been pronounced upon them. The judgment takes effect, but out of the national ruin which it implies the prophet pictures in the undefined future a renovated community arising. He does not pause to ask by what historical process the renovation has been effected." [2]

[1] Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, I. p. 6.
[2] Driver, *Int.*, 9 Ed., 1913, pp. 306–7.

We turn now to the specific passages—

ii. 16–25. Nothing but the pressure of a theory could induce anyone to cut the passage verses 4–25 into two parts. There is all the appearance of a consecutive composition, a progression of thought, a similarity of construction.[1] There is no sign of break or artificial juncture at verse 16.

The vocabulary of both parts is very similar and the diction of verses 16–25 thoroughly Hosean. Examples are:

לכן הנני, 8. לכן הנה, 16.
אנכי 16. Ib. 10.
המדבר, 16. בַּמדבר, 5. See ix. 10, xiii. 5.
נעוריה, 17. נער, xii. 1 (compare these verses throughout).
איש, 9. אישה, 4. אישי, 18.
הבעלים, 19. Ib. 15.
חית השדה, 20. Ib. 15. See iv. 3.
עוף השמים, 20. Ib. iv. 3.
קשת וחרב ומלחמה, 20. Ib. i. 7.
חסד, 21. Ib. iv. 1, vi. 6, x. 12, xii. 7.
ידעת את־יהוה, 22. לדעת את־יהוה, vi. 3. See iv. 1, v. 4.
הדגן ואת־תירוש
ואת־היצהר, 24.
הדגן והתירוש והיצהר
יזרעאל, 24. Ib. i. 4, ii. 3.
ורחמתי, 25. ארחם, 6. See i. 6, 7; xiv. 4.
לארחמה, 25. i. 6.
לא עמי, 25. i. 7.

The number of these verbal agreements in a short piece of ten verses is very striking and many of them are far more than verbal, revealing some of Hosea's characteristic thoughts. And the hope these verses display is one which Hosea may well have felt. The reign of Jeroboam II., in

[1] Note the frequent use in both parts of the perfect with vav consecutive. Driver, *Tenses*, § 113 (1).

which they were written, was regarded as a signal manifestation of Divine love and pity to Israel, and a proof that God did not wish the nation to perish (2 Kings xiv. 27), and Hosea, who would know this, believed, as Nowack remarks, that sorrow might be inflicted in the interest of educating love. He did not foresee that such a repentance as he hoped for would never take place. Now it is just possible, though most unlikely, that an interpolator about two hundred years later might have produced this perfect imitation of Hosea's words and thoughts, but the difficulties of the interpolation theory do not end here. A Judean editor lived in a different order of ideas and knew what had happened since Hosea's day. He knew that the repentance and restoration for which Hosea had looked with such high hopes had never taken place and was no longer to be expected. He neither looked for nor desired a restoration of heretical Israel. Why, then, it may be asked, should such an editor invent and insert in Hosea's book a long section to represent the prophet as predicting an event which he knew had not happened, which he did not expect to happen, and which he had no motive to wish for ?

It was natural for Hosea to write this section ; it is most unnatural to treat it as a Judean interpolation.

Ch. iii. It is surprising that it should be doubted that the same hand wrote ch. i. and this chapter. Both relate to Hosea's sad domestic history, and to matters which he alone could know. Marti gives a very curious reason for thinking it is a later invention. "The author of ch. iii. never knew Israel when it was yet in the land ; it has already been long in exile and only its future return is yet to come." We do not find all this in the text, which simply says that in a time still future Israel shall be for a long time without regal government, and its accustomed religious rites (verse 4). There is

nothing whatever about captivity or return from captivity in this early oracle.[1] The oracle, i., began with לֵךְ. This oracle begins עוֹד לֵךְ, which shows that the story is continued. The conjunction of *King* and *Prince* (verse 4) is very Hosean (vii. 3, viii. 4, 10, xiii. 10), and the allusion to the *love* of Jahveh (verse 1) is the very heart of his teaching (see references above).

No interpolator two hundred or more years later could have written this section. How could such a writer know that this unhappy woman had been in a state of slavery, that her husband had to buy her back, what price he paid, and that part of the price was paid in money and part in barley? Still less could he know the terms on which the prophet brought her into his house. The prophet was the only man who knew these details. Where did the interpolator get the word *Letech*, or how did he know that the Israelites at this period used the *ephod* and *teraphim*? These were all things a contemporary would naturally mention and a late glossator would never think of. And again, it is impossible to think that an interpolator would be at all this trouble to insert in Hosea's book a prophecy of repentance and national re-union which had not been fulfilled and which nobody in Judah desired to be fulfilled. This chapter must have been written by Hosea, or it would never have been written at all. Wellhausen and Duhm accept it as genuine.

v. 15, vi. 3. Marti thinks these passages a later insertion because the prophet would by these words have really broken off the point of his threats, and have put in Jahveh's mouth a strange correction of Himself. This does not seem to be the force of the passage. The prophet simply predicts a transient and useless fit of repentance such as he

[1] The words וּבִקְשׁוּ . . . יָשֻׁבוּ mean "shall again seek," as in ii. 11. *Ges. K.* 120*e*.

has witnessed before. In v. 14 the Divine stroke is depicted. Verse 15 describes how the people will "feel their guilt, and in their distress will seek me early"; vi. 1–3 contains the words of their prayer.[1] But Jahveh knows how transient and superficial is this repentance, and this is expressed in the address in verse 4. There is nothing here which Hosea might not have written. Such a series of events would not have surprised him at all. The language of this verse is quite Hosean and agrees with that of the context. Examples:

Verse 15. אשם. iv. 15, xiii. 1, xiv. 1.
בקש ii. 9, iii. 5.
vi. 1. טרף verse 14.
רפא verse 13. Also vii. 1, xi. 3, xiv. 5.
vi. 3. לדעת את־יהוה. ii. 22, iv. 1, v. 4.
ירה. x. 12.
שחר. x. 15.

Nothing could be less like an interpolation than this passage, and it is accepted by Wellhausen and Duhm.

xi. 10, 11. This is thought to be a later insertion because it predicts a return from a captivity which had not yet taken place. It should however be remembered that the earlier prophet Amos (iii. 12, v. 27, vii. 9–17, ix. 4) and Hosea himself (ix. 3–17, x. 5, xi. 5, xiii. 16, etc.) regarded it as certain that the nation would be conquered and deported to Assyria. But in xi. 8 an oracle of comfort begins. God cannot give up Ephraim or treat them like the cities of the plain. He will not come to consume them. Then follow our verses. They depict a signal act of Divine power and mercy. The people will come trembling home and once more dwell in their houses. A striking analogy to this distant view is found in Isaiah, who named his son "*A remnant will come back*" (vii. 3, x. 22) long before any captivity was

[1] Before v. 1 לֵאמֹר (LXX λέγοντες) should be read (Harper).

in sight. "The name contains a threat and a promise at the same time." [1] So Hosea looked through the imminent captivity to the ultimate restoration.

No event corresponding to this prediction actually took place, and this fact is fatal to the theory of interpolation. No Jewish editor would have invented and inserted in the prophetic book a prediction so contrary to the historic course of events, and to the thoughts and feelings of post-exilic Judaism, as to the hated North. Hosea could feel the hope, and therefore he could write the prediction. The language of these verses, the comparison of Jahveh to a lion (v. 14, xiii. 7–8), and of Ephraim to a dove (vii. 11) are quite in his manner, and the theory of interpolation instead of removing difficulties only adds to them. xiv. 2–10. In this piece, says Marti, again quite plainly, a different situation is presumed than that of Hosea; the punishment which for Hosea was to be looked forward to is already completed. How incorrect this statement is will appear from a single instance, verse 4, "Assyria will not save us." It was one of Hosea's greatest complaints against Israel that they relied on this help. v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, xii. 2. This passage must have been written before (Pul) Tiglath Pileser invaded Israel in 734 and conquered Galilee and Gilead. No Israelite after this date could possibly think of the Assyrian as a Saviour, or as anything but a cruel conqueror. Similarly, "we will not ride upon horses" must have been written at a time when it was possible to suppose that Israel might be saved by military strength, a view against which Hosea had also protested (x. 13).

"Thou didst trust in thy chariots." [2]

[1] Delitzsch, Isaiah, ad hoc.

[2] For בְּרַכְבְּךָ there is a Hebrew variant בְּרַבְּךָ which is supported by LXX A.Q. and Luc. ἐν ἅρμασιν. [LXX B. probably by a scribe's error ἁμαρτήμασιν.] This variant may be accepted. (Harper, Nowack.)

"In the multitude of thy heroes."

An interpolator in Judea about two hundred years later could never have written this verse. In his day Assyria had perished and was forgotten, and wherever the ten tribes were, or were supposed to be, they could not be thought of as raising an army. Such a writer in such different conditions could never have reproduced a thought which was only appropriate before 734, or have represented that it was a condition of repentance and pardon that reliance on Assyria and on armies should be given up. The situation presumed is exactly that of Hosea, not that of post-exilic days. The verse proceeds:

"We will not say *any longer* to the work of our hands."

"Our Gods."

This is thoroughly Hosean.

"The carpenter made him, so he is not God" (viii. 6, xiii. 2; see iv. 17); the belief in idols was still (עוֹד) going on when the oracle was written. It is idle to attribute these words to post-exilic Judea at a period when idolatry had not only ceased, but had become ridiculous. The language of this section is very markedly that of Hosea. Some of the instances are:

שובו אל־יהוה verse 3. שובה . . עד יהוה verse 2.
נשובה אל־יהוה vi. 1.
כשל, verse 2, verse 10. iv. 5 bis, v. 5 bis.
עון, verse 2, verse 3. iv. 8, v. 5 (with כשל), vii. 1, viii. 13, ix. 7, 9, xiii. 12.
טוב verse 3. ii. 9, iii. 5, iv. 13, viii. 3, x. 1.
ישע (Hiph.), verse 4. i. 7, xiii. 4, 10.
סוס, verse 4. i. 7.
רחם, verse 4. i. 6, 7, 8; ii. 3, 25.
רפא, verse 5. v. 13, vi. 1, vii. 1, xi. 3.
משובה, verse 5. xi. 7.

צל, verse 8. iv. 13.

עֲנָה, verse 9. ii. 17, 23 ter, 24 bis; v. 5; vii. 10.

"We affirm that Hosea xiv. 2–9 is in the style of Hosea, that the whole section breathes the same sentiment of profound and sincere sympathy for Israel which fills the discourse when the prophet is pouring forth threats that we find even in the detail more than one point of contact, as well in ideas as in the idioms, and the terms employed, with the parts which are certainly the work of Hosea. In a word, that the application of the ordinary rules of literary criticism compels us to admit the unity of composition for our ch. xiv. and the rest of the book." [1]

It is by no means our intention to suggest that Hosea could not have been interpolated, but we deny the possibility of the book being interpolated in this way. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that Jewish editors would invent and introduce into Hosea these predictions of events which were opposed to every fact of history. We can imagine no motive which would induce them to do so, and even had these been a motive we do not think they would have been able to reproduce the vocabulary, style and leading thoughts of Hosea so as to make these passages match so well the rest of the book. It is much easier to believe that Hosea wrote them.

C. We turn to a class of supposed spurious insertions the notion of whose spuriousness does not rest on any general theory but on the fancy of individual editors, and therefore makes but little appeal to other critics. This group of presumed additions to the text is thus described: [2] "Phrases and sentences of a technical, archæological or historical character inserted by way of expansion and explanation." It is not suggested who inserted them, or when, or why, or how they are known to be insertions. They are indicated

[1] v. Hoonacker, *Comm.*, p. 126. [2] Harper, p. clxi.

(not always the same ones) by Wellhausen, Duhm, and Harper. We propose to examine first some specimens which these three critics agree in regarding as spurious.

x. 14. It is assumed that Hosea did not write the words, "as Shalman destroyed Beth Arbel[1] in the battle day. Mother with children was dashed to pieces."

We may note here the Hosean locution שׁד (vii. 13, ix. 6, xii. 2 and the verb, x. 2, and earlier in this verse), and the rare word רטשׁ (in pual) used xiv. 1, and the assonance of *Beth Arbel* with *Bethel* or *Beth Israel*.[2] The explanation of the incident referred to put forth by Schrader[3] has been widely accepted. "Pul-Tiglath Pileser mentions a Moabite King, Salamanu, as a prince who paid him tribute. According to the Bible Hosea was a contemporary of Menahem and therefore of Pul-Tiglath Pileser. That Salman of Moab was also a contemporary of Hosea admits of no doubt. Now we know from 2 Kings xiii. 20 that the Moabites under Joash made a raid into Israelitish territory. They were then subjugated by Jeroboam II. (2 Kings xiv. 25). After his death, during the confusions in the Northern kingdom, they no doubt became independent again, perhaps even went on to make an attack and destroyed Beth-Arbel[4] in a raid. In the case of a *contemporary* prince and one of a *neighbouring* people we can understand without difficulty why the prophet omitted to give a more complete designation of the person he had in view." It is objected that this

[1] The LXX has some curious variants for ארבאל. B. reads ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Ἰεροβοὰμ as if שַׁלְמָן was taken for שַׁלּוּם (2 Kings xv. 13). A.Q. read Ἰεροβάαλ (as if remembering Jud. vii. 1; viii. 21), which reading is followed by Jerome, *a domo ejus qui judicavit Baal*. But Luc. seems to have read Ἀρβεήλ, and neither of these variants have anything to recommend them. See *Enc. Bib.*, art. "Beth Arbel."

[2] For בית־אל LXX read οἴκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, which is preferred by Harper and Nowack.

[3] *Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*, 2nd ed., p. 441.

[4] "Est et usque hodie vicus *Arbel* trans Jordanem in finibus Pellae civitatis Palaestinæ." Lagarde, *Onomasticon*, 2nd ed., pp. 123, 236.

cannot be the episode referred to, because this attack on a village in Galilee by a Moabite captain was too unimportant to be used as a type of national ruin.[1] This objection gives us the solution of the problem.

To a Jewish post-exilic scribe, reflecting on the terrible things which had happened in both kingdoms, this raid of Shalman would have appeared as trivial as it appears to the modern Professors. Such a scribe would never have interpolated it as a prophecy of what would happen to Israel. But on the contemporary prophet it would have a very different effect. He had seen the glory of the reign of Jeroboam II., a very *Siècle de Louis Quatorze* in Jewish-Israelitish history. So now, soon after that proud epoch, a raid of a Moabite chieftain into Galilee accompanied by horrible atrocities would make a most vivid and painful impression on Hosea, not only in itself, but as a type and presage of far worse evils to come. The fate of Beth Arbel might be repeated in every town in Israel. The prophet himself predicts it of Samaria (xiv. 1, see ix. 13). It was to him an event of terrible importance as things were in his day. Hosea could write this passage. No interpolator would have thought of doing so.

xii. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14. These passages, relating mostly to the history of Jacob, are supposed to be interpolations. The whole chapter illustrates the peculiar style of Hosea, his want of connexion, his sudden transitions.[2] But his line of thought may be discerned. In verse 3 he mentions *Jacob*, and this leads him to recount some notable events in the religious history of the patriarch as contrasted with the practice of his descendants. Jacob struggled earnestly to know God. Ephraim's repentance is as transient as a morning cloud (vi. 4). God found Jacob and spoke to him[3]

[1] Wellhausen, p. 126. Harper, p. 358. [2] See p. 92 above.

[3] In ver. 5 for עִמָּנוּ LXX A reads *πρὸς αὐτόν* (B. *πρὸς αὐτούς*). Read עִמּוֹ (Harper, Nowack).

at *Bethel*, the house of God (Gen. xxviii. 17). His descendants have made this holy and terrible place into *Beth Aven*, the house of iniquity (iv. 15, x. 5, 8). Jacob was a faithful lover and husband. Israel, on the contrary, an unfaithful wife (i.–iii.). God delivered Israel from Egypt and preserved them by prophets. Now God still speaks to them by prophets (v. 11, vi. 5), and they despise the prophet and his message (ix. 7). These allusions to the early story of Israel are all in keeping with Hosea's general lines of thought, but the links of connexion are too subtle to have suggested themselves to an interpolator.

ix. 9. "As in the days of Gibeah." We are quite unable to understand why these words should be considered to be an interpolation when the allusions to the same episode in x. 9 (and in the same phrase "the days of Gibeah") are allowed to be genuine. May not an author use the same words twice?

We will now look at one or two phrases which Harper alone regards as insertions.

iv. 13. "For good is its shade." We do not know of any reason why Hosea, after naming a tree, may not say that it gives a pleasant shade. He uses the same word צֵל xiv. 8. It is extremely likely that Hosea, who had almost certainly read the Song of Songs,[1] took this word from Cant. ii. 3—בצלו חמדתי. But whether this is so or not the passage gives the reason why idolatrous rites were commonly performed in woods (ii. 20, iii. 6, etc.), namely, to obtain shade from the burning sun; and surely the prophet knew this better than any editor in a day when the *high places* were only a matter of history.

v. 6. Omit "with their flocks and their herds." This omission mutilates a truly Hosean thought. In his view

[1] Cheyne, *Cam. Bib.*, "Hosea," pp. 14, 34. Cannon, *Song of Songs*, Exc. IV.

Jahveh delighted in piety (חֶסֶד) and not sacrifice, and in knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings (vi. 6). The people, on the other hand, sought God with sacrifices of sheep and oxen, but did not find Him because there was no *piety* in the land (iv. 1, see vi. 4). To cut out the words objected to would destroy this antithesis.

There is no need to pursue the matter further, or to examine every scrap of Hosea which has been capriciously assigned to editors. These instances show that, in every case we have examined, not only the words but the thoughts of Hosea underlie the passages supposed to have been interpolated. There is not only no external evidence but no inner necessity to assign them to any other author.

Our investigation under all three headings has led us to adopt the opinion of Ewald,[1] that the book of Hosea is in a good state of preservation and must from the very first have been circulated in a very perfect form. The work of Hosea, including the disputed parts, is marked by uniform diction, the same thoughts, and a unity of underlying conceptions. If every passage which has been objected to by any critic were to be struck out, there would only be left a mutilated torso bearing but little resemblance to the real Hosea.

W. W. Cannon.

METRE AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

Textual criticism is fundamental to the study of any language or literature. Until we know what actual words and forms the various writers used, it is impossible for us either to be certain of the grammatical rules which guided them or of the thought to which they desired to give expression. This is perhaps more true of the Old Testament than of any other body of writings, for the language is an

[1] *Propheten*, E.T., i., 226, note.

ancient one, and, as far as its Biblical form is concerned, a dead one. Further, the mass of literature at our disposal is very small as compared with that which is offered to us by most of the world's more important tongues, and we have proportionately little material for comparative work. Finally the text has come down to us in a stereotyped form, which allows us very few variations in the Hebrew itself.

At the same time we have no longer any doubt about the fact that the text is in greater or less degree corrupt. Apart from such direct evidence as is available (to which allusion will be made later in the present paper) it is on *a priori* grounds inconceivable that errors should not have been introduced in the centuries of repeated copying which elapsed between the original writing of our documents and the point at which the form became practically fixed. Materials for criticism, however, are notoriously scarce, being largely confined to one or two ancient versions, and in a number of instances where there is the strongest ground to suspect corruption there is no resource except conjectural emendation. Such a situation inevitably leaves the door open—nay, forces it open—for a very considerable element of subjectivity, and the textual critic will welcome any kind of criterion which will relieve him of this difficulty and enable him to pronounce with some certainty on the original form of the passages which he has to handle.

It is for this reason that the "Metriker" has leaped into the arena of textual criticism. Rhythmic and metrical laws, *if they can once be established*, would serve as an infallible means of detecting certain types of error. If a MS. of Homer or of Vergil presents us with a line which obviously does not scan, we *know* that the text of that MS. must be corrupt. Naturally such a criterion cannot be applied to all cases where we have reason to suspect the traditional

texts, but a good many mistakes can be discovered if not corrected by its means.

It will be generally conceded that if we were able to discover rules of metre in Hebrew as rigid as those which prevail in Greek and Latin, we should at once have an instrument of great value in dealing with our extant Hebrew literature. And during the last fifty years it has seemed that we may have such an instrument placed in our hands. A theory of Hebrew metrics, first propounded by the mediæval Rabbi Azariah, mentioned sympathetically by Lowth (who, however, did not feel free to consider the amount of textual emendation which it would involve), and revived by Peters,[1] made its real entry into the world of Old Testament scholarship in the work of Ley.[2] Articles and separate volumes to the number of three hundred or more have appeared in America, Austria, England, Germany and Switzerland during the last fifty years, developing or modifying this theory. Most of the commentators whose work lies within that period have taken the theory (or theories) into account, and have tried therewith to correct the text that lay before them. The real trouble is that the study of Hebrew metrics is still young, and though it seems likely that the principles on which the modern critic works are generally sound, we are by no means sure that we have reached accuracy in details. But the commentator cannot wait, perhaps for generations, till a consensus is obtained and the last word has been said, and he must therefore apply to his work the study of metre in the state which it has attained when he writes, in so far as he is able to give his personal adherence to a prevalent view. The result is that instead of removing the dangers of subjectivity, the study of metre has temporarily increased them, though

[1] *Psalmen in Urgestalt*, Z.D.M.G., 1857, pp. 533–538.

[2] A series of books and articles, beginning with the *Grundzüge*, 1875.

every fresh study of the subject by an independent investigator may, we hope, bring us a little nearer to that stabilisation which will enable scholars to apply metrical rules to textual criticism without much fear of error on this account.

The subject has been once more brought to the notice of readers of the EXPOSITOR by Dr. Barnes' recent article on "The Mischief of Metrical Theory." In his main contention he is probably right, namely, that the study of Hebrew poetic form has hardly reached a sufficiently advanced position to enable any writer to pronounce with confidence on the metrical correctness or incorrectness of any given verse. His remarks on the opinions expressed by the ancients are eminently sound, though there may be some reason for believing that Origen (in commenting on Ps. cxviii. 1) hints at some such view as that which generally prevails amongst students of Hebrew metre to-day.[1] Yet, in spite of the deference which every serious reader will pay to the experience and learning of Professor Barnes, it is still possible that there may be something to be said in favour of a cautious acceptance of the modern position, always remembering that no finality has yet been reached, and that all efforts at securing a valid system of Hebrew metrics must be regarded as tentative.

There are two elements in the modern theory which are liable to lead to more or less drastic excisions from the text. The first is that of strophic structure, or the stanza arrangement of poems in Hebrew. This is a good deal older than the study of metre in the narrower sense, and dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. A strophic system has been generally adopted by commentators on the Psalms, even by scholars of so conservative a cast of mind as Hengstenberg, though, needless to say, it led

[1] Cf. Ley in *ZAW*, 1892, pp. 212 ff.

him to no textual emendation. But a similar theory in the hands of scholars like Briggs and Duhm has played havoc with the text both of the Psalms and of the Prophets, and a good deal of doubt has been raised as to whether *all* Hebrew poetry is strophic in character. The other point is the extent to which regularity in rhythm itself is to be found in Hebrew verse. Here there are two separate schools, one holding that there is and can be no variation in the metrical scheme throughout a poem, the other allowing such variation within certain well-defined limits. An illustration of the former may be seen not only in the work of Briggs on the Psalms, but of Giesebrecht's *Jeremias Metrik*. Duhm's position seems to have been somewhat similar. The work of others, however, especially of Sievers and Gray, tends to show that a limited amount of variation is not only to be expected but is almost invariably present, at any rate in the prophetic literature as it has come down to us.

At this point it may be well to remind ourselves of the general character of Hebrew rhythm as generally understood. Dr. G. B. Gray rendered a service to the cause of this special study which it is difficult to over-estimate when he insisted that its primary characteristic was to be seen in parallelism. That is to say that Hebrew poetic rhythm, like that of Babylonian [1] and possibly of ancient Arabian [2] and Aramaic [3] literature, consisted fundamentally in a regular balance of thought rather than in a regular balance of sound. The average Metriker will at once admit Dr. Barnes' criticism that "the 'metre' is rough, and that the distribution of accented and unaccented syllables results in faulty melody"

[1] Cf. Zimmern's articles in the *Zeitschrift für Assysiologie* for 1893, 1895 and 1898. Also Fried. Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos*.

[2] Cf. Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, pp. 40–45.

[3] Cf. The Stele of Carpentras, which seems to exhibit a rhythm akin to that recognised in Hebrew.

(l.c. p. 168). His answer would be that the form has not yet developed into a state when the main stress can be phonetic; it is still logical, depending on ideas rather than on sound. That kind of balance of thought which finds its natural expression in parallelism will inevitably mean the presence, in each of the two or three balancing lines, of the same, or approximately the same, number of significant words, and the tendency will be for the thought-rhythm thus established to be retained throughout the whole poem. Thus when a "metre" is designated as 3 : 2 or 3 : 3 the implication is that each "line" contains five or six significant words—the essential thought-elements of the sentence—with a pause of greater or less degree after the third. When this is fully realised, it will also be seen that, especially in such a language as Hebrew where the words were of somewhat restricted length, a kind of sound-rhythm may develop. The overwhelming strength of the tone in Hebrew tends to the same result, and large sections both of the poetical and of the prophetic books can be read in a rhythm which is certainly well marked, even if it be not that to which we are accustomed. The general type may be gathered from Professor McFadyen's translations of Job, the Psalms and Jeremiah, or from Canon Box's renderings of Isaiah.

Professor Barnes is not alone in doubting whether the writings of the Prophets can be classed as poetry rather than as elevated prose.[1] But it is very difficult to read such a passage, for instance, as Isaiah xiv. 4 ff. or Jeremiah iv. 5–8 and numerous others, without feeling that there is little if any distinction in form and spirit between these and the acknowledged poetical books. No doubt there is a considerable amount of prose in the prophetic books,

[1] So, e.g., Rothstein, who, however, makes an exception in the case of Isa. xl. ff.

but Duhm (on Jeremiah) stands almost alone in denying this to the Prophet himself, and is hardly to be quoted as representative. In fact it might be maintained that when the Prophet himself attended to the writing of his oracles, they generally assumed the form of prose. Such cases appear in Haggai and Zechariah, and, in large measure, in Ezekiel. But if prose is to be recognised, for example, in Jeremiah iii. 6–18, it would seem to be equally clear that poetry must be seen in the four preceding verses.

The Metriker starts, then, with the assumption that there is such a thing as Hebrew poetic form, and finds it just as clear in large sections of the prophetic literature as in the Psalms or in Job. He further has reason to believe that there is a certain amount of corruption in the text. It is true that there are practically no variations of importance in the Hebrew MSS. at his disposal, but that is notoriously due to the fixing of the text in the centuries that followed the fall of the second Temple, and the elimination of all copies that did not conform to the standard. In a few cases we are fortunate enough to possess more than one copy of a passage, owing to its having been incorporated in more than one of our Old Testament books. Thus, Isaiah ii. 2–4 = Micah iv. 1–3, Obadiah 1–5 = Jeremiah xlix. 14 ff. + 9 f., Jeremiah vi. 22–24 = l. 41–43 (except for the application of the oracle to Babylon in the latter passage). In none of these cases do the two texts absolutely agree, in each of them there is a noticeable rhythm, and in none of the three cases does either of the texts carry that rhythm through without a break. Nevertheless in the three passages mentioned there is only a single line in which *both* the texts have a rhythm which appears to be irregular when compared with its context (וירנו מדרכיו ונלכה בארחתיו, Isaiah ii. 3 and Micah iv. 2). In every other case one or other of the two texts involved has a rhythm which is the same as that

which can be recognised as prevailing through the passage. For instance, Isaiah ii. 2 is difficult to assign to any recognised metre ; though the actual variations are very slight, Micah iv. 1 is in perfectly regular 3 : 3 rhythm, that which in the main prevails through the rest of the passage in both recensions. Again, there is an irregularity in Micah iv. 3, the first line having a word too many for the 3 : 3. But a word is omitted in Isaiah, which thus presents in this line a regular rhythm. Similarly the text of Jeremiah xlix. 14 ff. is mainly in 3 : 2. So is that of the corresponding verses in Obadiah,[1] though with much more irregularity. But there is no line in the whole in which neither is 3 : 2. The same phenomena are to be observed in the oracle which has been mentioned as occurring in two places in Jeremiah.

In such passages—and the list is far from being exhaustive —the student is faced with the fact of two divergent texts. Both cannot be original. Is he not justified in using the theory of metrical regularity (which has something to be said for it on *a priori* grounds) to help him to decide between two variations ? Of course it may be held that each case must be settled on its own merits apart from considerations of metre, but it is at least possible that this method will give far more room for purely subjective criticism than an attempt to solve the difficulty by the application of fairly well-marked canons of rhythm. This is not a case of conjectural emendation, and it does not seem unreasonable to claim some right to decide between two extant texts on grounds of " metre."

Such cases of a double Hebrew text, however, are few and far between, and the textual critic has to rely in the main on ancient versions. Of these by far the most

[1] Cf. the present writer's article on "The Structure of the Book of Obadiah," *J.T.S.*, June, 1916.

important for this purpose is the LXX, the Greek version made at various times during the last three centuries B.C. This, of course, represents the text current in Egypt and depends on copies of the Hebrew text which had ultimately a Palestinian ancestry. At the same time they may have been copied for some generations in Hebrew by Egyptian Jewish scribes, and there is room enough for error to have crept in. Yet it is equally possible that mistakes, additions and omissions were being made simultaneously by the Palestinian scribes during the period which followed the separation of the two texts. Indeed additions are more likely to have taken place in a country where Hebrew was more familiar and more widely used than in one whose prevailing language was Greek, for such additions spring most naturally from marginal notes afterwards incorporated into the actual text. No doubt many of the books of the Old Testament in Greek underwent a certain amount of revision and comparison with the Palestinian text, as seems to have been the case with the Book of Job. On the other hand there were others in which the extent of the variations between the MT and the LXX shows that such revision could not have taken place, the most conspicuous instances being those of Samuel and Jeremiah. Surely in the case of poetical passages occurring in these books it is justifiable to use a theory of metrical regularity to help in deciding between the claims of two rival readings? It must be remembered that the claim of the MT to accuracy and even sanctity was not fully recognised (outside the Pentateuch, at any rate) till near the beginning of the Christian era, and there was plenty of time for corruption in Palestine as well as in Egypt. It is perhaps too hastily assumed that the MT is necessarily the sounder text, though, needless to say, the opposite opinion, that the LXX is always preferable, has as little to commend it. The two must be judged

in every case on their own merits, and it is not unfair to regard metrical accuracy as a merit.

With these preliminary remarks we may look at Micah i. 2–9, the passage selected by Professor Barnes for his criticism of the metricists. Let it be said at once that there will be a great deal of sympathy with his position, and that some of the alterations that have been proposed in print will fail to meet with general approval even amongst those who believe in a metrical theory of the kind advocated by the commentators whom Professor Barnes quotes. The fact is that the case is not so bad as would appear. If the text be written out in short sentences, such as Professor Barnes has translated it, so that the line-divisions correspond to sense-divisions, it will be seen that most of the lines thus formed, even on the basis of the MT, contain two parts, each consisting of three significant or stressed words. This is obviously the case with verse 2*a*; 2*b*, however, contains in the MT four significant words in the first part (ויהי, "let . . . be," may easily form a single stress with the next word, for the weight of the thought falls on the noun "witness" later in the line). But it should be noted that one of the divine names is omitted in several of the most important MSS. of the LXX and was possibly not original in that version. Further, the elaboration of the divine name was one of the most characteristic forms of corruption in the Palestinian texts. The reader will lose with regret Professor Barnes' fine exposition of the double appellation, but the problem is first to find out the original text and then to expound it. And as between the two readings should not weight be given to that which makes for metrical uniformity with the main portion of the passage?

Verse 3, again, looks too long at first sight. But in the first half of the verse the two opening words כי הנה—"for behold"—may be fairly regarded as anacrusis, standing

outside the metrical scheme, a phenomenon which has been insufficiently recognised in Hebrew metrics, though it seems to be a well established fact. Again, in the second part the word ודרך—" and shall trample "—was not before the Greek translators. Admitting all that Dr. Barnes says about the æsthetic value of the climax presented by the MT, the fact remains that here again it is necessary to decide which of two existing texts is original. And it is not every reader who will feel that the beauty of the passage is seriously impaired by the omission of a word which may have easily arisen from an accidental repetition of the preceding one. Even the inclusion of the word, however, does not wholly invalidate the rhythm, for the last three words—על במתי ארץ—" on the high places of the earth " —may be compressed if necessary into a single stress, as is actually done by the Massoretic accentuation.

Verse 4*a*, on the other hand, has only five words, and here the LXX and the MT are agreed. If strict metrical regularity is required, conjectural emendation is inevitable. But such emendation lies ready to hand. In the second part of the verse there is nothing parallel to the תחתיו " beneath him "—of the first part. Is it not possible that at the end of the line there once stood מנגדו—" before him," and that it dropped out through confusion with the following word, כדונג—" like wax " ? But this is a conjectural emendation, and may be held to be illegitimate at the present stage of the discussion.

The first line of verse 5 is, as Dr. Barnes agrees, a pair of trimeters, almost exactly balanced. Opinions will probably differ rather widely on the subject of the second line :—

> What is the transgression of Jacob ?—Is it not Samaria ?
> What is the *Bamoth* of Judah ?—Is it not Jerusalem ?

Dr. Barnes describes the line as being rhetorical prose, and there are those who would omit it altogether. But no case

of parallelism could be clearer, and after all parallelism is the essential test of Hebrew poetry. Of course a parallel may occur isolated in the course of prose, but where it is included in a passage in other respects poetical, many readers will be unwilling to call it prose. It may also be remarked that each of the two halves is itself a trimeter, for the final question may well be regarded as a single stress. It is true that as poetry it is a little clumsy, but the whole theory of Hebrew metrics is based on the view that the ancient Israelite ear was not yet attuned to phonetic nicety in this matter. Perhaps not every reader would assent to the position that it is the climax of the preceding line, and some may feel that it interrupts the flow of the oracular movement. But there is no need to excise it purely on metrical grounds.

It is one of the weaknesses of Duhm's metrical theories that he does not fully recognise the presence of a 2 : 2 : 2 line as an alternative to the 3 : 3, though the researches of Sievers have made it abundantly clear that it frequently occurs thus, especially in the Prophets. By his accentuation of the English translation Dr. Barnes brings out the fact that the first part of verse 6 is just such a line (down to "vines"), though the first two are printed by him as one. The second line of verse 6, however, is, as it stands, clearly a "pentameter"—3 : 2, a form which possibly never occurred in mixture with the trimeters and hexameters. Here, it must be pointed out, if metrical regularity is to be kept within its ordinary limits, conjectural emendation must be employed. This, however, will not take the form of the excision of words, but the insertion of one—perhaps כל, "all," will be sufficient, for the expression וכל is metrically indeterminate, sometimes forming a whole stress by itself—as it would do here—and sometimes being linked with the word which follows, as in the next verse. Verse

7 looks like the kind of enumeration to which later compilers and editors were addicted, and some modern students will, no doubt, desire to drop part or the whole of the verse on this ground. But no serious exception should be taken to the metre, which exhibits three trimeters, a form not very common but by no means without parallel in Hebrew poetry. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the whole passage has been, in Dr. Barnes' experience, treated by commentators who take a more rigid view of the demands of metrical regularity than some of their colleagues would be prepared to justify.

Verse 8 is unexceptionable Hebrew rhythmical and parallel poetry. It is a little difficult to understand why Dr. Barnes speaks of verse 9 as "a stanza in Kinah-measure." The first part of the verse—down to "Judah"—is only to be "scanned" as 2 : 2, and the last part, as it stands, is not strictly metrical at all. To judge from Dr. Barnes' translation he would stress the words כִּי "for," "surely," and עַד "unto." It is not probable that either was ever stressed when standing alone, though either might be (not necessarily was) so stressed when preceded by "and." The end of an oracle is very frequently of such a kind as to make a reader suspect corruption either by accidental mutilation or by explanatory addition. In this case—if strict metrical accuracy be required—it may be held that the verse was originally 2 : 2 : 2 and that the words "unto Jerusalem" are a compiler's insertion.

We thus find that in these five verses there are four, possibly five, points where the MT seems to be metrically irregular. In one (or two) of these the LXX has a regular text; in the other three conjectural emendation is necessary for metrical regularity. But it is to be noted that in two out of these three cases the obvious remedy is not the excision of words but their addition, and in neither is it

likely to be maintained that the additions are such as to militate against the value of the passage from the æsthetic or from the religious point of view. The third case occurs right at the end of the passage, exactly where some textual error is most to be expected.

Once more it should be observed that the foregoing discussion of the passage is concerned solely with its metrical structure. Commentators may feel on other grounds that words, phrases or lines are obtrusive, and may desire to omit them. But, at the same time, it is important to bear in mind that such alterations, though they may be made by metricists, are not essential to metrical regularity, whose demands can be met by no more than three changes in the fourteen lines of the passage. A just estimate of the extravagance or sobriety of this proportion can best be obtained by a comparison with the passages quoted earlier in this paper, in which two forms of the actual Hebrew text are available. Thus in the " floating oracle " preserved in Isaiah ii. 2–4 and Micah iv. 1–3 there are nine lines in the former of the two texts, though it may be remarked that the compiler of this book apparently had the oracle in a mutilated form. In the first line there is a metrical irregularity in the text of Isaiah which is corrected in that of Micah by the transposition of the word, נכון " established." In the second line (2*e* + 3*a*, Isa. ii. 2*cd*) there is another irregularity in the Isaiah text which is removed by the presence of an extra word (הוא) in Micah. In the third line (Isa. ii. 2*e* + 8*a*) the words עמים and גוים (both meaning " nations ") are transposed in Micah, and the latter has כל prefixed to it. Here there is, it is true, no metrical variation, but the difference still serves to illustrate the corruptions to which an oracle was exposed at an early stage in its textual history. But the greatest variation is reached in Isaiah ii. 4, of which the first line must be given in full :—

Isaiah. ושפט בין הגוים והוכיח לעמים רבים
Micah. ושפט בין עמים רבים והוכין לגוים עצמים עד־רחוק

i.e., Isaiah. And he shall judge between the nations.
And shall reprove many peoples.
Micah. And he shall judge between many peoples,
And shall reprove powerful nations, even far away.

Inasmuch as the metre of the rest of the oracle is 3 ; 3 the metricist may fairly claim the text of Isaiah in this verse as being original. Once more, there is a wide difference between basing conjectural emendation on metrical theory and using it as a criterion to decide between two existing ancient texts. Both these recensions of the oracle cannot be original ; it is not unjust to prefer in each line that which has an obviously superior rhythm. At the same time it is clear that one or other of the two texts of the passage is more seriously corrupt than Micah i. 2–9 would appear to be on purely metrical grounds. The last line quoted contains in itself nearly as many variations as the metricist needs to assume in order to reduce the fourteen lines of the Micah passage to regularity. The case is even stronger when the Obadiah-Jeremiah sections are considered, for exact agreement is to be found in very few of the ten lines which the passage contains, and sometimes the differences are very wide. There should, then, be nothing extravagant in a request for three textual emendations in the opening passage of the Book of Micah.

But further, it is somewhat difficult to judge a case of this kind on the evidence of short passages, which may, for reasons unknown to us, have either been handed down with an unusual degree of freedom from corruption, or, on the other hand, have accumulated an abnormal amount of error. Longer sections and larger groups alone can give a satisfactory basis for discussion. The Book of Amos, for example, contains nine chapters, of which one is mainly prose and in the first and part of the second there is a peculiar

structure in which a prose sentence is inserted into a metrical framework in each of the national denunciations of which the passage is composed. In the remainder—roughly seven chapters—there are only twenty-four places where the MT presents a metrical irregularity, and eight of these can be reduced to a regular form by following the reading of the LXX. There remain sixteen conjectural emendations necessary from the point of view of the metricist—an average of little over two per chapter. Is this excessive tampering with the text ?

The case of the Book of Jeremiah is still more instructive, mainly because here the LXX seems to have escaped revision by a Palestinian text. A number of commentators have dealt with the text. The most drastic is Duhm, whose metrical handling of the book has found few supporters, even amongst metricists. Somewhat less severe is Giesebrecht, whilst Erbt and Volz, who have had the advantage of being able to depend on the work of Sievers, require far fewer changes. An independent study of the book shows that it contains over 200 separate oracles or oracular fragments, or between 1,100 and 1,200 lines of poetry. (It must be pointed out that this metrical analysis is entirely independent of any views as to date and authorship.) Out of these there are 230 lines which are metrically irregular in the MT, i.e. they do not conform to the rhythm of the rest of the oracles in which they occur. But in no less than 170 of these lines the LXX translators had before them a text which was metrically regular. This is a most significant fact, for it is strong testimony alike to the value of the LXX and to the correctness of the metrical theory. In the whole book of Jeremiah about sixty conjectural emendations are required to reduce all the poetical passages to metrical regularity. When it is remembered that nearly three times that number of metrical corrections have been

made on the authority of the LXX, and that only about one line in twenty remains irregular after the LXX has been used on the text, the demands of the metricist will seem to be comparatively moderate. There are of course cases in which the MT presents a regular metrical text and the LXX does not. But these only number forty-nine, as against the 170 in which the converse is true.

It is impossible to lay too much stress on Dr. Barnes's contention that the study of Hebrew metrics is far from being complete. A reader must always assume that a commentator's position is his own, and does not represent necessarily the conclusions of the great body even of metricists. At the same time progress is being made, and it will be found that scholars who base their studies on the work of Sievers and Gray—to name the two greatest metricists of the twentieth century—will demand far less drastic surgery of the text than some of their predecessors, who held to far more rigid theories than the facts appear to some of us to warrant. Much remains to be done, no doubt, in determining the laws, if any, under which a word may receive two stresses, or under which it may be connected with another by a Maqqeph, being thus combined with it under a single stress. Probably it will be found that the ancient Hebrew writers were hardly conscious of metric laws at all, but were guided purely by sense and sound. Metre is always earlier than its formal laws, which in the first instance must be descriptive before they can become normative. But even so, it seems probable that their writings, both in the poetic books proper and in the Prophets, were a good deal more regular than they appear to be in the MT.

This conclusion seems to follow from the facts to which attention has been called in this paper. In the first place there is abundant reason to believe that a certain rhythm

or metre of a certain kind is to be found in Hebrew poetry, though it is very different in character from that which is familiar to us in Indo-European literature. In the second place we know that the text as handed down to us in our Hebrew Bibles has suffered from corruption in the course of transmission, and that at an early date. Evidence of this corruption is to be seen both in the alternative texts of a few passages which still survive in our Hebrew Bibles, and also in the variations of the ancient versions, particularly of the LXX, which represents the tradition of the Palestinian Jews from the third or second centuries B.C. Thirdly, it is frequently to be observed that where two such ancient texts differ in a manner which involves a metrical variation, one or other gives metrical regularity. Finally the number of passages remaining unresolved by this means is comparatively small, and involves far fewer changes than some writers are inclined to suspect. Already some of the dangers of subjectivity in the use of metre for purposes of textual criticism are passing, and it may well be that in time to come, instead of being a source of mischief, Hebrew metrical theory may prove to be a valuable aid in the rediscovery of the original words of the Prophets.

T. H. Robinson.

PAUL'S REMINISCENCES OF JESUS.

If the apostle Paul actually saw Jesus in the days of His flesh, and if his identification with the rich young ruler be conceded, then other important issues are immediately raised. Was the apostle's knowledge of the human Jesus confined to one solitary occasion? Can that interview, from which the ruler turned sorrowful away, have been his first and only meeting with the Nazarene? Is it probable that the Master would have made such a drastic demand of one

who had set eyes upon Him for the first time ? Surely the call to surrender his material possessions, if it had come as a bolt from the blue, would have sent the young man away far more indignant than sorrowful. To our thinking, the state of the ruler's mind presupposes a somewhat extended knowledge of Jesus, and a certain mental preparation for the rigour of His requirements. We are of the opinion that the young man had been for some time an attentive listener to Christ's teaching of the true inwardness of the Mosaic law, and he had heard demonstrated to his awakened understanding the far limits of its claims. This new exposition of the message of their Hebrew Scriptures appealed strongly to the moral susceptibilities of this aspiring youth. He was an earnest seeker after perfection of life and character, and had come to Jesus in the hope that He could make plain to him the way of holiness. His eager inquiry, " Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life ? " is a clear indication that he expected to learn from the Nazarene a stiff extension of his religious duty, although he was not prepared to hear that the surrender of his whole wealth was required of him.

As we read the Gospels carefully, we discover that on three different occasions Jesus was called upon to declare the moral significance of the law. Each time the party, seeking for information, is evidently, like Peter over the question of forgiveness, expecting an answer of mathematical nicety. He desires to have the extent of his religious duties duly marked out and standardised. The supplicant is variously described as a scribe,[1] a lawyer,[2] a ruler.[3] The questions, however, are so obviously supplementary to each other that we instinctively feel they were prompted by one and the same individual. Moreover, as if to substantiate our judgment, there are similarities between the second incident and each of the others. In the first and second case the

[1] Mark xii. 28–34. [2] Luke x. 25–37. [3] Luke xviii. 18–23.

same brief summary is made of the Mosaic legislation : [1] in the second and the third, the question is put in the same form to Jesus.[2] Therefore, if the axiom, things equal to the same thing are equal to one another, be applicable here, the questioner on each occasion, according to our original hypothesis, is none other than the apostle Paul. The first enquiry asks what is the chief of all the commandments.[3] The purpose of the question is to get Jesus to discriminate between what is paramount and what is secondary in the law. The spiritual intuitions of the young man incline him to believe that every detail of their religious code is not of the same spiritual importance, and he hopes that what he dimly perceives may be made quite clear to him by this new prophet. The reply of the Nazarene, in its two dimensions of duty to God and duty to man, sums up everything that is vital in the Old Testament dispensation. Love to its *nth* power is declared to be the end of the law : love to God is to be with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength ; love to thy neighbour is to be as thy love of thyself. The man, destined to proclaim the gospel of freedom from the bondage of the law, applauds the answer of Jesus ; and observes that, whilst the whole ethical content of the Mosaic code is conserved in the reply, the ceremonial observance of outward rite, far from being stressed, is not even mentioned by this religious teacher. Jesus is favourably disposed to the youth, and informs him that he is not far from the Kingdom of God. In his great hymn on love [4] and in his declaration that "love is the fulfilling of the law," [5] Paul, many years later, recalls the first lesson he had learned from the lips of Jesus.

After due meditation over this spiritual summary of the law the man returns with a further question. He is not

[1] Mark xii. 29–31 ; Luke x. 27. [2] Luke x. 25 ; xviii. 18. [3] Mark xii. 28.
[4] 1 Cor. xiii. [5] Rom. xiii. 10.

satisfied to be nigh unto the Kingdom of God, but earnestly longs to have his place within that realm. The point upon which he would seek new enlightenment is the identity of his neighbour.[1] In his reply, Jesus raises the concept to its *nth* power. Our neighbour, according to the Master, is our fellow-man, no matter how far he may be removed from us in location, whether of place or character, rank, race or religion. This answer is again, with some hesitation, approved by the lawyer. He cannot deny its application in the particular incident brought before his notice, but he evidently feels that the principle was not practicable in the affairs of our daily lives. Eventually, however, Paul accepted this injunction of Jesus without reserve. He not only declares that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free ;[2] but he lifts the curtain so that we may see how he himself carries out the rule in daily practice. "Though I be free from all men," he informs us, "yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And to the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews ; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law ; to them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak : I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."[3]

The lawyer retires to think over the new range which Jesus had given to an old word. He recognises the ethical significance of the enlarged content, and approves the moral

[1] Luke has not given us a separate account of the former interview (Mark xii. 28–34). He has, however, prefaced a condensed statement of what took place then, as an introduction to the discussion of the meaning of the word neighbour.

[2] Col. iii. 11. [3] 1 Cor. ix. 19–22.

beauty of the idea; but as a practical man, he feels that there must be some common-sense limitation in the application of this principle. Human need is so extensive that, with all possible good-will, no individual man could hope to do more than touch the fringe of the problem. Every man you relieved would bring only a score of equally necessitous cases into view. An awakened world-conscience could alone hope to deal successfully with the universal cry of human suffering; and until you have this stirring of human hearts, this consecration of our whole humanity to the service of their fellows, the lawyer wanted to know the limit of his individual responsibility. Here is an earnest man grappling with an insoluble difficulty. He wants to do his duty to his fellow-man. He is anxious to do the thing that is just and right. He desires to discharge his debt to suffering humanity, to give everything that might reasonably be expected of him. He therefore comes to Jesus to ask what claim might society make justly upon his services. "What shall I do," he asks, "to inherit eternal life?" The answer given to this question clearly demonstrates that the precise point upon which the ruler sought information was his personal obligation to his fellows. He is informed that, if he desires a tabulated statement of his social duty, he possesses that already in the second table of the decalogue which Jesus proceeds to quote. The young man, realising that the Nazarene is seeking to test his moral earnestness by this reply, cries out in the intensity of his longing for enlightenment, "All these obvious precepts have I kept from my youth up; what lack I yet to obtain spiritual peace?" The Master informs him that in love, raised to its *nth* power, lies the only possible solution to the problem of human need. "If thou wilt be perfect," says Jesus, "go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." According to

the Nazarene, the limit of our duty to our fellows is that of our strength, our opportunity, our substance. This reply staggers the young man, and he goes away; but his heart, we are told, is full of sorrow. He bears no resentment to Jesus for demanding the full surrender of his possessions. His spirit acknowledges the moral grandeur of the call, but his weak flesh refuses to respond. The relinquishment of his wealth would not have made any great difference to the sum total of the world's distress; but in the Cross of Jesus Paul learned that not in the extent of any man's possessions but in a passion of a heart that is willing to yield its all for the object of its affection lay the only hope for a needy race. Once in Athens, the apostle had imagined that knowledge, wisdom, philosophy would move the hearts of reputed seekers after truth, but he came to Corinth sadly disillusioned, determined henceforth not to know anything among men save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Christ crucified might be a stumblingblock to the Jews and to the Greeks foolishness; but the time came when Paul, in his own experience, saw that unto them which are called Christ is both the power and the wisdom of God. In his own strength he had been weak, unable to make the sacrifice that was demanded of him; but in Christ he knows himself to be all-powerful: "I can do all things," he cries, "through Christ which strengtheneth me." [1] In his letter to the Galatians, is he not thinking of his old failure and of the victorious life which now is his? In the very same passage in which he quotes the precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," he tells of the moral weakness of those who trust in their own strength, and then triumphantly exclaims, "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." [2] The time came when Paul was ready to suffer the loss of all things, and can rejoice

[1] Phil. iv. 13. [2] Gal. v. 14–24.

in his sufferings for his fellows in that he is called to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his own flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church.[1] "Even unto this present hour," he writes, "we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands; being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are offscourings of all things unto this day."[2] He can say, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."[3]

The more we study the writings of St. Paul, the more we get the impression that he received the rich content of his message from the human Jesus. From the ninth chapter of the "Acts" we learn that the exalted personage whom the tent-maker saw in the heavens added not one single syllable to the truth he had learned of the Nazarene. That figure only speaks to accuse the persecutor of a personal wrong he had inflicted on the speaker. No mention is made of the persecution of the new sect, which Paul had wrongly judged to be heretical. A zealous Jew, who had never met the man from Galliee, might have been pardoned for such an error. But there could be no excuse for personal disloyalty to a friend whom he had known and loved: no justification for seeking to crush in his heart that impression of the wisdom, sincerity and purity of Jesus which his moral judgment still acknowledged and approved. "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks,"[4] are the simple words of Him whom he had known on earth, but they are sufficient to cut Paul, that man of sensitive honour, to the quick. He had to admit that the grievance of his accuser is both reasonable

[1] Col. i. 24. [2] 1 Cor. iv. 11–13. [3] 1 Cor. viii. 13. [4] Acts ix. 5.

and just. His former salutation to Jesus was an admission of superior virtue in the party addressed. The Pharisee therefore stood self-condemned in that he was persecuting one whose goodness he previously had acknowledged.[1]

That heavenly vision afforded the apostle a new perspective, from which to view the Crucified. The sight of that glorified body removed for ever the doubts that had been raised by the ghastly spectacle of the Cross. From the sinless life of the Nazarene he had learned the meaning of holiness and known its attractive force; from the heavenly vision he merely receives the suggestion of its secret. "We all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the *Spirit of the Lord*." [2] That glory he had beheld in a human form, in the face of Jesus of Nazareth: the vision of the exalted Christ had only imparted the hint that the excellency of the power was of God. What differentiated Jesus from all others was the possession of the Spirit in all its fulness, "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." [3] "God was in Christ," he informs us, "reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." [4] That was the burden of his message in a nutshell. "They that are in the flesh cannot please God," are his words. "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." [5]

[1] Luke xviii. 18–19 (see Lightfoot *in loco*).
[2] 2 Cor. iii. 18.
[3] Col. ii. 9.
[4] 2 Cor. v. 19.
[5] Rom. viii. 8–11.

If the message of Paul be largely the gospel he had learned of the human Jesus, there are two questions which must be answered. Why has the apostle not given us his recollections of that unique human life which meant so much to himself? Why has he laid so much emphasis upon the risen Christ? When we remember that the full content of his message was given to his converts verbally we see good reason why he should not crowd his personal correspondence with details which had been committed to them by word of mouth. As a matter of fact, further study will show that the letters of Paul are full of allusions which could only have been understood by those who were cognisant of the story of Jesus. Moreover, we hope to remove the entire force of the first objection by producing the very important contribution which Paul has made to our knowledge of the Nazarene. To the second question we rejoin that the resurrection was the seal of God's approval upon the earthly life of our Lord. Even as the hall-mark is our guarantee that the metal is pure and of sterling worth, so the resurrection glory is our security that that life manifested in the flesh was of the very essence of God. In the significance of their relationship, not the hall-mark is of permanent importance but the pure gold; not the heavenly surety, but the incarnated life. It must not be forgotten that perhaps in some Pauline passages we have given attributes to the exalted Christ which the apostle understood of the Spirit-filled life of the Son of Man. We must also be on our guard against drawing any very rigid distinction in the letters of Paul between the Christ of experience and the Jesus of history. To the apostle, life in the Spirit was life after the pattern set by the Nazarene. "Copy me as I copy Christ,"[1] is the very practical and mundane advice which he gives to his converts at Corinth. That the life in the Spirit

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 1 (Moffatt's translation).

has mysteries beyond our mortal ken is a matter of Christian experience. We know not the hidden springs from which it is fed and nourished, but the actual processes of its cultivation can be explained in the easy and unequivocal terms which Paul employed to the Philippian jailer, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." [1] Seeing that man's salvation is bound up with that historical life of Jesus whom Paul had both seen and heard, we infer that so gifted a writer as the apostle would have sought to preserve for after ages his own personal recollections of the Nazarene, and the content of that remembrance we now purpose to exhume.

Had it not been for a remark of Papias, we might never have learned that in our second Gospel we have the memoirs of St. Peter; and this has suggested to us the possibility that hidden away in the New Testament Scriptures we may possess the priceless story of St. Paul. In our quest for this narrative we naturally turn to the writings of that man who was for many years a close personal friend of the apostle, and his companion on several of his journeys. In his "Acts," Luke has given us a concise but vivid account of the travels of the great missionary to the Gentiles; and if there ever existed a narrative of Paul's own personal recollections of the Nazarene, we feel confident that it would tend to gravitate within the orbit of the fuller story given by the beloved physician. There is no doubt that the Lucan document is composite in its nature. In common with the author of our first Gospel, he has made free use both of the Marcan material and the reputed *logia* of St. Matthew; but when we deduct these two elements a considerable residue is left, which is peculiar to our third evangelist. This exclusive Lucan account is scattered throughout his whole work, and may have been derived from various

[1] Acts xvi. 31.

sources. Some scholars think that the Virgin herself was his authority for the story he gives of the wondrous birth. There is, however, quite a large section of this peculiar matter which we find in one block, as if he had received this part of his narrative from one original source. This important division begins at the fifty-second verse of the ninth chapter and continues to the middle of the eighteenth; whilst some of the sayings in these chapters may be found in the first Gospel in a different setting, the incidents and parables are distinctive of Luke. Scholars have been puzzled to account for this information. If the parables of this narrative had been included in the *logia*, it is hard to understand why such a beautiful story as that of the Prodigal Son has been passed over by our first evangelist. If Paul, however, be the author of this section, we can understand how it closes with the story of the young ruler and the statement that he was very sorrowful. The start of the narrative on the borders of Samaria is equally easy of explanation. Paul and Jesus are both on their way up to Jerusalem, and their parties, happening to meet somewhere in the south country of Galilee, coalesce for several days of their march. The mission of the seventy may account for the absence of the twelve, and the consequent resulting silence of the first two Gospels about the incidents of this travel document. Would it be too bold to suggest that the missions of the twelve and the seventy were contemporaneous ?[1] The two numbers were symbolical of the Jews and the nations. If Jesus wanted to emphasise the fact that His message was for all men, the simultaneous sending forth of two distinct groups was more likely to impress the idea of difference

[1] In Luke xxii. 35 Jesus reminds Peter of the instructions which previously, in his Gospel (x. 4), the evangelist had given as part of His charge to the seventy. If both missions had been sent off together, the one exhortation was probably given at the same time to both companies.

and distinction upon the observer. This hypothesis would raise some difficulties of chronology; but it would explain why the disciples, not understanding the symbolism of the numbers, imagined that their commission was of far greater importance; whilst the broader-minded, cosmopolitan Jew of Tarsus, noting the purport of the figures, stresses the wider intention. The disciples, vain-glorious over the success of their labours, returned shortly before the close of the travel document. Thinking that their glowing reports should have the first claim upon the attention of Jesus, they would have pushed aside the mothers and their children with haughty contempt.[1]

The affinities of thought between the message of the great missionary apostle and the teaching of Jesus as recorded in these chapters would have marked out the Tarsian as the authority behind this section of the gospel story had not tradition fixed upon the Damascus road as the scene of Paul's first meeting with the Crucified. In the travel documents we have exphasised, as nowhere else in the Gospels, the universality of God's free grace. In the sending forth of the seventy He had typified that His message was for the whole world. Not Israel alone, but every race upon the face of the earth has a place in the eternal purpose and a share of the divine grace and compassion. The mercy of God is inclusive of all men, the Jews,[2] the Samaritans,[3] the nations.[4] No matter how humble, how weak, how needy a man may be, he is an object of the Father's love. The little children,[5] the friendless widow,[6] the despised publican,[7] the beggar with his loathsome sores,[8] are all sure of a welcome from Jesus. Even the sinner and the wrongdoer cannot

[1] Luke xviii. 15–17, which immediately precedes the story of the ruler.
[2] Luke xiii. 34–35. [3] Luke ix. 52–55; x. 25–37; xvii. 11–18.
[4] Luke xiii. 29. [5] Luke xviii. 15–17. [6] Luke xviii. 1–8.
[7] Luke xviii. 9–14. [8] Luke xvi. 19–26.

cut themselves adrift from the lovingkindness of the Most High. No abyss of human shame and degradation is too deep for the rescuing hand of God. We are told of the kindly shepherd who, after his day's task is done, goes forth into the storm and across the wild to seek out the sheep that has got lost. We behold the father receiving back, with open arms and shining face, his wayward boy. Nothing escapes the interest of Jesus. His pitying eye rests upon the reckless prodigal,[1] the niggardly churl,[2] the homeless vagabond,[3] the barren formalist,[4] the shameless prostitute.[5] What scenes of human wreckage are here portrayed for us, men and women wasted and ruined by sensuality and empty pride in every shape and form. And yet over the wrong-doing and the sin we are taught to see the yearning, agonising heart of God, ever seeking to cleanse and to deliver. We have restored the story of the woman taken in adultery to its rightful place in this Pauline deposit.[6] The vision of the exalted Christ had shaped the form of Paul's theology, but the content of his message of salvation he owed to the human Jesus. As the apostle thinks of the wonder of that revelation of love which we have in and through Jesus, his earnest prayer for his converts is that they may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge.

The Gospel of God's free grace for all men was not the only knowledge which the apostle had obtained from Jesus: from Him, too, he learned that attitude of independence to the ceremonial usages of the Jew. Their washings before meals the Nazarene had considered of no religious significance.[7] In the travel document we have recorded

[1] Luke xv. 11–24. [2] Luke xv. 25–32. [3] Luke xv. 1–7.
[4] Luke xiii. 6–9. [5] John viii. 3–11.
[6] In a few MSS. this story follows Luke xxi. 38. [7] Luke xi. 37–41.

two incidents of healing on the Sabbath.[1] Moreover, the story of the man ploughing on the Sabbath, found in some old manuscripts of the Lucan Gospel, may have belonged to the original Pauline narrative. From the parable of the publican and the Pharisee we learn that to Jesus a rigorous system of fasting and tithing was a sorry substitute for spiritual sincerity.[2] In the story of the woman taken in adultery Jesus had practically abrogated the penal requirements of the Mosaic legislation. Freedom from all ceremonial observances is a cardinal principle of the teaching of the apostle, "Stand fast therefore," he writes to the Galatians, "in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."[3] "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor," he declares to the Corinthians, "and though I give my body to be burned and have not love, it profiteth me nothing."[4] The rite of circumcision,[5] the observance of holy days,[6] the distinctions in meats,[7] he labels as of no consequence. He treats with contumely the ordinance which forbade a Jew from eating with a Gentile.[8] He has no patience with the petty, slavish restrictions of the sanctimonious "taste not, touch not, handle not."[9] It was this personal knowledge that Jesus had so taught which vested him with power and authority in the Council at Jerusalem and in his dealings with such outstanding pillars of the Church as Peter,[10] James,[11] and John.[12] Further study will demonstrate from the evidence of the epistles and the speeches in the "Acts" that the words and thoughts, which he had heard from the lips of Jesus were to the apostle the current coin of his daily utterance.

A. M. Pope.

[1] Luke xiii. 10–17; xiv. 1–6.
[2] Luke xviii. 9–14.
[3] Gal. v. 1.
[4] 1 Cor. xiii. 3.
[5] Rom. ii. 28–29.
[6] Col. ii. 16.
[7] 1 Cor. viii. 8.
[8] Gal. ii. 14.
[9] Col. ii. 20–22.
[10] Gal. i. 11–14.
[11] Acts xv. 13–21.
[12] Gal. i. 9.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM.

OUR LORD'S WORD TO HIS MOTHER AT THE MARRIAGE AT CANA (John ii. 4).

The saying of our Lord to His mother at the marriage at Cana has almost universally been regarded as an expression of displeasure and rebuke. Maurice says, "Romanists are puzzled by it, Protestants exult in it because it seems to put a sort of slight upon the Virgin." In order to justify our Lord's displeasure, the word of Mary that called forth the saying has been characterised as interfering and blameworthy. But surely it was the most natural thing in the world that, when the wine failed, Mary should tell Jesus. Is it wrong for a mother to go to her son with her trouble in a time of perplexity? Mary had good reason for her implicit confidence in Jesus, for she and her neighbours had often, no doubt, been the better for His help in emergencies, and she knew how gracious and resourceful He was. Besides, if, as seems likely, the failure of the wine was due to the welcome but unexpected arrival of Jesus and His disciples during the wedding feast, Mary would feel that this was a special reason why she should tell Jesus what had happened. She asks nothing, suggests nothing; and it seems hard that she should be blamed for what she did. It is worth asking once more whether the words of Jesus are really words of displeasure and rebuke. It is quite clear that this is not the impression the saying made on Mary's mind, for immediately after He spoke she "acted as one who had asked and obtained a favour. Her command to the servants is not the language of one who felt rebuked, but of one whose request had been granted."[1] Even Trench, who stoutly defends the traditional translation, says: "It is evident that Mary read, and, as the sequel shows, rightly read, a Yes latent in His apparent No." Her injunction to the servants, "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do," shows that the words of Jesus led her to understand that He would do something to supply the deficiency, and it is inconceivable that she would have given such instructions to the servants if, "for the first time in all her experience, she had received a harsh answer from

[1] *The Life of Jesus the Christ*, by Henry Ward Beecher, 1871, p. 188.

these gentle lips."[1] Now, if we do not understand His words as Mary did, that must be because we understand them wrongly, for she was far more favourably placed for interpreting Him aright than we are. We have only His words, or more probably a translation of His words, while she heard the very words He spoke, caught the tone in which the words were spoken, and saw His face. The meaning of a phrase, especially in colloquial speech, may be entirely changed by the tone in which it is spoken. A man might say sternly to a sturdy and insolent beggar at the door, "Get away with you," and immediately afterwards, to a beloved child who had suggested to him that he might take her to some entertainment, for which, unknown to her, he had already bought tickets of admission,—he might say playfully, "Get away with you." He would thus use the same words to beggar and child, but the tone would differ, and the meanings would be worlds apart. It may be objected that this is colloquial English and not Greek, but there is no force in the argument, for the ordinary colloquial Greek, the κοινή of our Lord's time, was not less flexible than the English of to-day. It is to be noted, therefore, that if Mary understood the words of Jesus as a promise of help, the action of Jesus proved that she understood Him rightly, for we are told that without delay He proceeded to replenish the wine in a most generous fashion.

Let us, then, look carefully at the words themselves. Is it possible that the ordinary rendering is a mistranslation, as Weymouth asserts, and that "the language is by no means that of fault-finding or rebuke"?[2] The words are very simple, and there are only ten of them: *Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου.* (What to-me and to-thee, woman; mine hour is not yet come.) There is no difficulty about His calling Mary "woman" instead of "mother." The comment of Westcott may be taken as stating the accepted view: "In the original there is not the least tinge of reproof or severity in the term. The address is that of courteous respect, even of tenderness." Mary does not appear again in this Gospel until we see her standing, broken-hearted, at the foot of the Cross on which Jesus hangs. In speaking to her, then, He would use nothing but the most tender words, and again He uses the same word, "Woman,

[1] *The Days of His Flesh*, by David Smith, 6th Ed., p. 53.
[2] *The New Testament in Modern Speech.*

behold thy son." There is a similar use of the word in some Gaelic-speaking districts in Scotland, where the young people usually address their mother not as "Mother," but as "Woman." The words "What to-me and to-thee" are the crucial words. The phrase is elliptic, and some word must be added to bring out the meaning. In some cases the word *κοινόν* would complete the phrase, and if this term were introduced here it would give the meaning, "What is there in common to you and Me?" But is it always necessary to interpolate this particular word? There is one instance in the New Testament where the same idiom is used, and where the insertion of *κοινόν* would be impossible. When Pilate was engaged in the trial of Jesus there was brought to him this message from his wife, *Μηδέν σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ*, which is translated, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man." Here there is no suggestion of aloofness or antagonism between Pilate and Jesus, but rather a request that Pilate would stand by Jesus, as against His accusers; that he would see that Jesus got justice, even if it should be necessary for him to exercise his authority to protect the Righteous One. Professor Burkitt points out that while there is in the phrase "What to-me and to-thee?" which is common both in Greek and in Aramaic, a gap that must be filled up to bring out the meaning, there is nothing to tell us where the gap is. He says, "It may be between *me* and *thee*, but it may equally well be between *us* and the *thing*," and he adds, "I venture to suggest that in John ii. 4, '*Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*;' means nothing more than '*τί ἡμῖν γύναι*;' We might translate it, 'What have I and thou to do with that?' . . . It seems to me difficult to believe that the phrase can be intended by the Evangelist to mean anything else than 'Never mind, don't be worried.' A sentence which means literally 'It is not my business' is used by the modern Egyptians, both for 'I beg your pardon!' and 'Never mind!'" [1]

Professor Burkitt's suggestion that the words of Jesus should be rendered "What is that to Me and thee?" is supported by several other well-known Greek scholars. Professor Blass quotes from the metrical paraphrase of the Fourth Gospel by the Egyptian poet Nonnus, who wrote about the beginning of the fifth century, and who understood the words of our Lord to mean, "What is that to Me and thee?" Nonnus slightly varies

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. xiii., pp. 594–5.

the text by substituting " or " for " and " : *τί ἐμοί, γύναι, ἠὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ* ; (" What is that to Me, woman, or to thee thyself ? "). Blass thinks that Nonnus must have used a MS. of the Gospel in which *ἤ* appeared instead of *καί*, and adds that he is sure most readers will be of his opinion, and prefer " or " to " and," although there is but one witness for the former, and that quite an obscure one.[1] Dr. E. Nestle tells us that Luther wrote on the margin of his Bible *in loco*, " Forte : Was gehet es mich und dich an ? " although this marginal note is not repeated in modern reprints. Nestle is careful not to commit himself to this rendering, but says it is well worth thinking about.[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay gives the suggested translation warm support. He says, " The more one thinks of it, the more one hopes that Luther was right when he desired to take the meaning, ' What is that to Me and to thee ? ' " In his view there is no need to alter the Greek text as Blass suggests ; for he thinks that Nonnus understood the accepted text in the sense suggested by Luther.[3]

The present writer is not sufficiently familiar with the recently discovered Greek papyri to know whether anything has yet been found in the deciphered documents to give support to this view of the text, but it is so much more in harmony with the context that he has no hesitation in accepting as the original meaning of our Lord's words the translation, " What is that to Me and thee ? " The meaning of that phrase would vary with the tone in which the words were uttered. If the words were spoken sharply, " What's that to Me and thee ? " they would mean, " the matter is no business of ours ; let those see to it whose duty it is to attend to the supply of wine." But if they were spoken kindly, as we have reason to believe they were, they would mean, " What's (a little thing like) that to you and Me ? We can easily get some wine for the guests at the wedding." This use of the phrase is constantly heard in colloquial English. A millionaire gives to some benevolent fund a sum that would be a princely gift from a person of modest fortune, and when the man in the street hears of it, he is apt to say somewhat contemptuously, " What's that to him ? " meaning that the gift is something insignificant when one thinks of the donor's

[1] *Philology of the Gospels*, 1898, p. 238.
[2] *Expository Times*, Vol. ix., p. 332.
[3] *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem ?* 2nd Ed., p. 84.

wealth. The phrase has many shades of meaning in English, and there is no good reason for believing that colloquial Greek was more rigid than colloquial English. If it be linguistically possible, as scholars like Ramsay and Burkitt contend, to take our Lord's saying to His mother to mean, "What's that to you and Me?" the apparent harshness and severity of the words vanish; the phrase is in perfect keeping with Mary's behaviour, and is not at variance with our conception of the character of Jesus. It must be frankly acknowledged, of course, that the weight of expert scholarship is in favour of the traditional meaning, which is supported not only by most of the ancient commentators but also by some of the most brilliant of our living scholars, like Dr. Moffatt[1] and Canon Burney.[2] It seems possible, however, that due stress has not always been laid on the fact that the language of the New Testament is colloquial and not literary. That fact is now fully recognised, although there may be those who think that James Hope Moulton goes too far when he says that the Greek Testament is "the only (ancient) book written in the language of daily life, in the very language in which the people talked at home," and that the writers of it "avoid the literary, archaic, old-fashioned, out-of-date language in which the literary men were writing."[3] Is it being overbold to suggest that the time is ripe for a fresh discussion of such a phrase as this "What to-me and to-thee"?

There remain for consideration the words "Mine hour is not yet come." His "hour" refers generally in the Gospels to the time of His Passion, but here it denotes a time close at hand. The words cannot possibly mean that the time to do as His mother wished was distant, for that time came presently as His action clearly shows. We cannot think of Him working this first miracle against His own judgment as to its timeliness. The words "Mine hour is not yet come" probably mean that

[1] See Moffatt's *New Testament*, in loco. "Woman," said Jesus, "what have you to do with me?" Cf. also the EXPOSITOR for January, 1913, p. 94.

[2] *The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes*, 1920, p. 310. "What hast thou to do with me?" Lit. "What to me and to thee?" i.e., what business have we with each other? the regular idiom in deprecation of interference. The ordinary rendering, "What have I to do with thee?" obscures the sense.

[3] From *Egyptian Rubbish Heaps*, 1st Ed., p. 26.

He was not ignorant of the fact that they had no wine, that He intended to save His friends from the disgrace that would follow their failure to provide suitably for their guests, but that the time for action had not yet come. It may be that He was waiting for the moment when the original supply of wine had been entirely exhausted, so that there would be no risk of mixing the new wine with the old. Trench says, "Then will be the time to act, when by the entire failure of the wine, manifest to all, the miracle shall be above all suspicion; else, in Augustine's words, He might seem rather to *mingle* elements than to *change* them." "*Ὥρα*" is used here, therefore, as "*καιρὸς*" is used in John vii. 6, to denote the fitting moment, which, in both cases, was near at hand.

The injunction of Mary to the servants at Cana is thus the key to the interpretation of our Lord's words, for we must interpret His words not only in the light of what preceded them, but in the light of what followed. The word, "Whatsoever He saith unto you do," has become a permanent law of the spiritual life, and the obedience of the servants at Cana is an abiding pattern for all Christians. When Jesus told them to fill the waterpots with water, they "filled them *up to the brim*." When He said "Draw out now and bear unto the governor of the feast," they did as He commanded them without question or delay. They might have hesitated to do as they were told, for the water in the waterpots was still water. It was only on the way from the waterpots to the table that

"The modest water saw its Lord and blushed."[1]

If we would minister to the joy of our neighbours, or help others to behold His glory, we can do these things only in the measure in which we obey His will. There is no other way, even if, at the time, we fail to see the wisdom of some command. He may bid us do strange things at times, as He did to the men who saw Him in the flesh, but we are never safe except when we are in the way of obedience, for the experience of all the ages proves that He is infinitely wiser than we.

ALEX. SOUTAR.

[1] Nympha pudica Deum vidit, et erubuit (Richard Crashaw). Marcus Dods says in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, "If the words in the ninth verse are to be taken strictly, it was still water when drawn from the water jars."

THE OLDEST MANUSCRIPT OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL IN COPTIC.

STUDENTS of Biblical archæology will be specially interested in a new find which was brought to light in Egypt last winter and is now housed in the Bible House Library, 146, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.,—forty-three sheets of Papyrus manuscript containing most of St. John's Gospel in Coptic.

We are indebted to the British School of Archæology in Egypt for this important discovery. Under its well-known Honorary Director, Sir Flinders Petrie, F.B.A., this Association has carried on for many years its valuable work of both training experts for their delicate tasks and unveiling to the world many remains of the Egyptian dynasties.

During the winter of 1922–23 their work in Egypt was confined to one particular district, Qua-el-Kebir, a headland of the Eastern cliffs, on the right-hand bank of the Nile, almost midway between Cairo and Aswan. The exact spot is at a bend in the river about thirty miles south of Asyut. In an article in *Ancient Egypt*, Part II., 1923, Sir Flinders describes the place as one of considerable importance in (probably) the XIth dynasty "under a series of princes, who left large rock tombs." These and the neighbouring villages have evidently suffered from continued plunder.

Last winter Sir Flinders was unable to travel to Egypt, so the work of excavation was under the direction of his able colleagues, Mr. Guy Brunton, who had helping him Mrs. Brunton, M. Bach, Messrs. Frankfort and Starkey. Among the finds were "mineralised bones, mostly hippopotamus, but including portions of three human skulls . . . an ivory worker's store . . . small prehistoric cemeteries of the second period . . . vases of the IInd dynasty . . . bright red polished pottery of the IVth dynasty . . . tombs and alabaster vases of the IVth–VIth dynasties . . . with amulets of that period and of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties . . . seals and IXth dynasty scarabs." Belonging to later times they found 50 *solidi* of Constantius II. the remains of a Christian cemetery with several Coptic tombs and Roman graves. Here Mr. Brunton picked up a rough earthenware jar, unfortunately in pieces. It contained something wrapped up in linen rags. Inside the rags was found a crushed

bundle of papyrus manuscript. A preliminary examination showed that the writing was in Coptic and the subject Scriptural. Possibly it had been buried along with a corpse in the cemetery, or perhaps hidden during some time of persecution.

The other finds in the place suggest that the place had been untouched since the sixth or seventh century. When the package reached London Sir Flinders Petrie subjected it to a careful examination. He soon discovered that the leaves numbered no less than forty-three, and that they contained the text of the Gospel of St. John in Coptic.

As the book had been folded over twice both lengthwise and sidewise, and then tied up tightly in the cloth in order to be pushed into the jar, and as it had lain thus undisturbed for some thirteen centuries, it is not surprising that parts have rotted off, and that several leaves have been injured by their cramped position. In spite of all this, there now remain no fewer than forty-three pages, most of them marvellously complete. Each page is numbered at the top in Coptic letters usually at the left-hand shoulder above the first line. There is no trace of the first six pages. The first leaf extant contains pp. 7 and 8. It is somewhat worn in the centre where it was folded over. It evidently begins at the latter part of the second chapter. The manuscript then runs on continuously to the page numbered 96 (with the exception of two leaves containing pp. 11, 12, and 33, 34, which are missing). The leaf containing pp. 93, 94 is very fragmentary, but pp. 95, 96 are in comparatively good condition. They end with the text of the latter part of chapter xx. Probably the remainder of that chapter and the twenty-first chapter would take six more pages. So we may gather that the book contained originally about 100 pages. The average height of the extant forty-three leaves is 242·5 mm. (about 9½ in.), and the average width 115·5 mm. (about 4½ in.) The average length of a written line is 83·7 mm. (about 3½ in.) Most of the pages contain thirty-three or thirty-four lines, at least five have thirty-seven and one has thirty-two.

The manuscript is written in uncial Greek letters with the usual addition of six or seven special characters for Coptic. The writing, which is all in one hand, is regular and scholarly, and the margins, the spacing of the letters and of the lines all

show traces of a careful scribe. It appears to have been a Church copy of the Gospel. The caligraphy and the whole condition of the manuscript lead Sir Flinders Petrie and his colleagues to place its date somewhere round about 400 A.D., i.e. somewhat later than the Codex Vaticanus.

All these forty-three papyrus leaves and the remains of the linen bag have been handed over to the Bible House Library, in return for a grant towards the publication of the manuscript, made by a few generous friends of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The important task of editing the manuscript has been entrusted by the British School of Archæology in Egypt to Sir Herbert Thompson. The book, which is expected to appear this year, will give a photographic reproduction of each of the eighty-six extant pages, and, for the easier reading of the text, a transcript printed in Coptic type. Sir Herbert will be able from the regularity of the writing to suggest a number of the missing letters and fill up some lacunæ. He will add a literal translation in English, and discuss the variations of the text from those of the other Coptic versions. The examination he has already made enables him to say that the text, while resembling that of the Sahidic or Southern Coptic version, exhibits several differences. This, however, is not to be wondered at. It is well known that in addition to the two main Northern and Southern dialects, there were many other local variations. Sir Herbert's publication will also refer to the Greek text underlying this translation. There can be no doubt that this manuscript reflects an early form of the Greek Gospel—possibly going back to the third or even the second century. What exactly that text was will have a bearing upon Biblical criticism which scholars will readily appreciate. He has already noted some translations which show a few interesting variants from the ordinary Greek text; but this again is quite what one might expect.

It is satisfactory to know that the manuscript is to find its home in Britain, and in a Library which is always accessible to Biblical scholars.

R. Kilgour.

REVIEWS.

The Literature of the Old Testament in its Historical Development. By Julius A. Bewer, Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York. Columbia University Press: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Price, 22*s.* 6*d.*

THIS volume, in the "Records of Civilisation" series, is, as the editor of the series explains, "a companion to the study of the Old Testament, rather than a repository of its texts." Histories of literature are difficult books to write, especially when the literature is foreign. They tend to be either a chronicle, generally bare, or a discursive, viewy estimate, written from some preconceived philosophical standpoint. To be interesting and at the same time to convey information is a task which is doubly difficult in this department of authorship. The writer has to assume knowledge on the part of his readers. Now and then he has to impart it. And the artistic unity of the book generally suffers. It is true that in the case of the Old Testament there is a rough familiarity with the contents which the author may presuppose in most of his readers. But many of them are more interested in the matter than in the form of the Old Testament. Not how a book is written, but what is written in it, counts. Hence any writer has to overcome one initial prejudice against his method and aim. Dr. Bewer has scholarship at his command, and he has succeeded wonderfully in presenting the public with a readable account of how the people of Israel came to produce their literature; he connects the successive phases of the history with the literature they throw up, and prevents the study of the books from being technical and isolated. He also writes in such a way that anyone, even without knowledge of Hebrew, can understand the argument.

The first three chapters are on the early literature, poems, narratives and laws. Dr. Bewer (p. 21) agrees with the guess of Budde and Duhm that Abiathar may have been the author of the vivid stories about David and the rise of the kingdom, which form the first prose product of Israel's literature. Whether Moses wrote the decalogue (pp. 30 f.) is uncertain; but "of course, just as in Babylonia Hammurapi was represented as

receiving the law from the sun-god Shamash, so in Israel Moses was represented as receiving the law, both the civil and the criminal, directly from God." Three chapters on the historical literature follow (pp. 43–86). Dr. Bewer translates Elijah's challenge, "How long go ye limping between the two sides?" His versions are a feature of the book, but this one hardly does justice to the Hebrew. What Elijah meant was that to entertain both the worship of Yahweh and the worship of Baal meant a hobbling, weak position; they were unequal in size, like two legs, one of which was shorter than the other. Dr. Bewer dates J about 850 B.C., and E in the first half of the eighth century, the latter being strongly moulded by the convictions of Elijah. Ten chapters on the prophets and Deuteronomy (pp. 87–258) follow, with graphic estimates and sane, shrewd criticisms. Jeremiah he describes as "a divinely appointed poet, from whose soul came words that still haunt the memory by their beauty and still woo the heart by their grace." His comment on Jeremiah xxxi. 21 is edged. Some "witty reader" thought the change from "Ephraim my dear son" (xxxi. 18–20) to "O virgin of Israel" (xxxi. 21) so queer, that he wrote in the margin, "Verily, Yahweh has created a new thing in the earth: a man is changed into a woman!" Then, says Dr. Bewer, "a copyist without sense of humour put this into the text" (p. 147). After a chapter (number xvii.) on the priestly code or P, and another on the post-exilic historians who produced the books of Nehemiah, Ezra, Esther and Chronicles, we come to the wisdom literature (ch. xix.) and the psalter (ch. xx.). "Lip," on p. 374, is a misprint for "life." The later prophets, among whom Joel is included, are then discussed (pp. 395 f.). Dr. Bewer does not seem to agree that the first part of Daniel represents an earlier document. His theory is that the author, who intended his book to be popular, meant to finish translating the rest of the first part into Aramaic, "but was prevented by some reason or other, perhaps by death, from carrying out his aim" (p. 419). This does not sound very convincing. The last prophet's word in the Old Testament is Zechariah xiv. 21, a hope of ritual precision. "There is not much left of the great teaching of the pre-exilic prophets. How far we have travelled from Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah and Jeremiah! How external the universal ideal of Deutero-Isaiah has become!" A short closing

chapter describes how the canon and the text of the collected books were formed.

The reader's interest is well sustained throughout the book. Dr. Bewer sets the literature in a fresh light for the ordinary reader, and his treatment of the ties between the people's varying faith and their prose and verse is illuminating. The chapters on the prophets are perhaps the strongest in the book. But the whole conception is worked out well, and, within the limitations of the series, the writer has managed to present a fruitful and often an independent survey of the subject.

A selected bibliography is appended. Dr. Bewer has specially warm praise for Sir G. A. Smith's works; his exposition of Isaiah is pronounced " a work of great attractiveness and charm, and indispensable to the general reader," while his companion exposition of the minor prophets is hailed as " deservedly the most celebrated book in English on the Prophets. It arouses enthusiasm and admiration by its brilliance and power. No one can afford to miss it, if he wants to enter into the spirit of the Prophets." Since Dr. Bewer wrote his bibliography, some works have appeared which need to be added, like Sellin's Old Testament Introduction, Professor Burney's volume on the books of Kings, Buttenwieser and C. J. Ball on Job, and Dr. Skinner's book on Jeremiah. He truly says that we need an English commentary like Gunkel and Gressmann's *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments*; it is time that this project was launched. Driver's study of the books of Samuel should have been mentioned, however, and Bennett's vital volume on Chronicles in the Expositor's Bible.

* * * * *

The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age. By Rev. Thomas Walker, D.D. London: George Allen and Unwin. 12*s.* 6*d.*

By " the Jewish teaching of His age," Dr. Walker means the religious opinions contained in the so-called " Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," which have been edited in English by Dr. Charles. It is not the rabbinic contemporary thought, but the thought of these documents of Judaism which interests Dr. Walker. After studying them he is convinced " that Jesus had a sufficient acquaintance with, and appreciation of, the outlook of these writers to warrant us in speaking of a relation between

his teaching and the type or types of teaching which they represent." The plan of the book is to outline first the teaching of this literature on a special topic, and then compare it with the teaching of our Lord; the idea of God, the kingdom of God, the character of the Messiah, the doctrine of man, the way of salvation, and the hope of the hereafter, are successively treated. Dr. Walker has read widely in his subject. His pages are an invaluable *catena* of quotations from these documents, arranged clearly, and critically weighed. He also gives ample quotations from modern criticism upon the Gospels. Too ample, sometimes, for the quotations are rather indiscriminate. Some of the modern books from which he quotes are popular and second-rate; it would have been better to use writers like Titius, Denney, Johannes Weiss and Keim. The interpretations of certain sayings of Jesus do not quite carry conviction. The words, e.g., "I have not come to destroy the Law or the Prophets, but to fulfil them" (Matt. v. 17), according to Dr. Walker, were meant "as an assurance on his part that his teaching did not mean the recrudescence of a Hellenism such as the Maccabeans, to begin with, fought against" (p. 277). There is a defensive note in the saying, but is it necessary to assume a consciousness like this in the audience? A still more debatable view is propounded on p. 336, where Dr. Walker interprets the saying of the rich man in Luke xvi. 24, "tormented in this flame," as meaning mental feverishness. He wishes to prove that fire is absent from the experience of the wicked before the judgment, and argues that φλόξ here means fever, a medical use of the term. "The usual translation, 'I am in anguish in this flame (φλογί),' is misleading, and for once J. Moffatt does not improve matters by rendering in the plural, 'in these flames.'" With due respect to Dr. Walker, "J. Moffatt" abides by his rendering. The singular φλόξ here is a collective term. Luke is using it as the LXX often used it, for "flames." I would be the last to discourage any true proofs of the "medical" element in Luke's vocabulary. Not long ago I showed in the EXPOSITOR how the recent effort by Professor G. F. Moore and Professor Cadbury to eliminate the "medical" element breaks down upon a careful examination of the style. But φλόξ here is not used in a metaphorical medical sense. However, there is plenty of sound material in Dr. Walker's pages. He has studied his documents

patiently, and many readers will be grateful to him for collecting in so convenient a form the requisite data. As I have felt bound to differ from him on the points mentioned, I am all the more glad to quote a passage in which he is on the right lines, especially as another contributor in this issue of our journal takes a different view. It is the interpretation of John ii. 4 (on p. 277). The words of Jesus, says Dr. Walker, "are perfectly respectful; they were uttered in a playful mood. . . . The phrase, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*, so lamentably misrepresented by the translation, 'What have I to do with thee?' is used in the LXX (e.g. Judges xi. 12, 1 Kings xvii. 18) always with the meaning, 'Why do you interfere with (or "trouble," or "bother") me?' The remainder of his remark on the occasion, 'Not yet has there come my hour,' seems to have been a favourite saying of his, whose precise meaning had to be gathered from the circumstances in which it was used, but which has tended in the mind of the evangelist to assume a stereotyped form and significance (John vii. 30, viii. 20). The whole saying under discussion may then be rendered, 'Why do you bother me (i.e. with wedding arrangements), my dear? Not yet has there come my time (i.e. to take on such responsibilities).' His mother understood His humorous reference to Himself as the head of the household, now that His father Joseph was dead, and left Him, knowing very well that He could help her out of the difficulty." So far as the interpretation of *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* goes, this explanation is correct; indeed, it is the only tenable interpretation of the phrase. Jesus is repudiating His mother's attempt to influence Him, just as He repudiates that of his brothers in vii. 2–10. It is a feature of the Fourth Gospel that it stresses the initiative of Jesus; His plans are His own, and, when He acts, it is not under any influence from without. He forms His own plans, and moves under no human suggestion.

* * * * *

Christian Ways of Salvation. By George W. Richards, D.D., LL.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. 12*s.* net.

THIS is a volume of popular lectures by a professor of the Reformed Church to the students of Auburn Theological Seminary. They are Presbyterian, but not reactionary. Indeed, Dr. Richards speaks severely about the theology of Princeton Seminary, and deplores the sad "premillenarian propaganda

and the quadrilateral of the fundamentalists" as "a hopeless confusion of gospel and dogma." His survey, however, is historical, not controversial. He begins by pointing out the various ideas of salvation which the human mind has entertained. These correspond to the variety of conceptions of man's plight. He may feel helpless before the forces of Nature, or overwhelmed by the mystery of existence, or at the mercy of capricious, malign deities, or in the grip of destiny, or fettered by evil passions within. Broadly speaking, these may be said to fall into one or other of two classes; they point to a salvation which is ameliorative or redemptive. Dr. Richards briefly discusses some pre-Christian views of salvation, like those of Indian religion and Orphism. But his main interest lies in the Christian position. The conceptions of Jesus and the apostles are outlined; then the ancient catholic transformation, out of which the Orthodox Catholic and the Roman Catholic varieties arose. "The ultimate source of Catholicism is its idea of God, which is not true to the God revealed by Jesus and beheld by Paul. On that account the Catholic way of salvation, whether Greek or Roman, never quite satisfied the demands of the New Testament or of the human heart." The evangelical ways of salvation, and the humanist, are then described brightly.

Dr. Richards has read widely. He quotes freely from a number of books and articles. He travels a familiar road, but he is a brisk guide or companion. And in the last three chapters he sets himself to the positive task of enunciating some urgent demands of evangelical religion. Dr. Richards is no blind worshipper of things and theologies American. It is significant that he picks out, as far more valuable than the Lambeth Appeal, the proposed confession of faith which was submitted tentatively to the United Free Church of Scotland in 1921. This seems to him "to express, more satisfactorily than any formula he has met, in confessional form the content of the Gospel interpreted in the light of the experience of salvation." It is curious that this proposal should find more acceptance in America than in its own Church and country. But Dr. Richards examines its articles one by one with almost unqualified admiration.

Theism and Thought : a Study in Familiar Beliefs. The Second Course of Gifford Lectures delivered at the University of Glasgow, 1922–23, by Arthur James Balfour, Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., F.R.S., LL.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Ph.D. (Hodder and Stoughton, 15*s.* net.)

The world-war interrupted the Balfour Gifford Lectures. The first series, *Theism and Humanism,* by Mr. Balfour, is followed only now at an interval of nine years by the second, *Theism and Thought,* by the Earl of Balfour. The present volume has inevitably to recapitulate and even repeat the former. That is no disadvantage. While the first was interested mainly in " the Good " and " the Beautiful," this is directly concerned with " the True." In brief, the argument here runs—there are certain articles of popular belief which everyone in practical life accepts as true—the existence of oneself, of other selves, of an external world, and so on. That such are " true or on the way to truth " no one practically denies ; for if he is to live at all or make a living, he must accept them. On what grounds, on what view of the universe can they be justified ? The author here subjects to a keen criticism various hypotheses, using the instrument of " methodological doubt," in which he claims alliance with Mr. Bertrand Russell ; and aims at proving their insufficiency. His criticism of materialistic Naturalism will be found not indeed very original, but at least very convincing. He is not enamoured with Neo-Realism, whose advocates " present us with a conception of the material universe which seems equally repellent to common sense in its primitive and in its scientific form—a conception most difficult to realise, and quite impossible to accept."

What, then, remains ? The truth of those common beliefs indicates that they are " inspired." In other words, only on a Theistic view is it possible to rationalise experience. Even there, according to the author, our success may be small, for " we occupy only as squatters our little clearing in the Unknown ; if a legal title be desirable, it still remains to be acquired."

This brilliant work is written in charming style—almost too charming, if such a criticism is allowable, for one is tempted to pass easily on, carried away pleasantly and smoothly by this artistry which veils logic in such literary grace, to the neglect of scrutiny of the subtle argumentation. Yet one closes the fascinating volume with some sense of dissatisfaction. One may

say that while as a critic of other views the Earl of Balfour commands respect and attention, as a constructive philosopher he is not so impressive. One feels more or less vaguely that a leap towards the conclusion has been somewhere taken, if one could only see where. One is at the conclusion before one is quite ready for it. One wonders if "methodological doubt" is quite consistently carried out.

Yet further, one feels that the conclusion, as the author expresses it, is after all perhaps scarcely worth the long journey by which he has led one to it. "It must, of course, be granted," he says, "that the Theistic framework ultimately postulated is tolerant of errors, absurdities and superstitions; it supplies no guarantee of truth." But one thought that it was just that—just some sort of guarantee of truth—that one was led to expect! Is truth, then, for ever beyond us? Is Metaphysics after all the barren logic-chopping which "the plain man" alleges it to be? Do we end just where we began, gaining only a fresh conviction that "much study is a weariness of the flesh"? Is Balfourism a species of Pragmatism? Lord Balfour leaves us wondering.

On the whole this delightful book will be more serviceable as a tonic than as a meal.

* * * * *

The Transfiguration of Jesus, by the Rev. Archibald Allan. (Oliver and Boyd, 5*s.* net.)

About the Transfiguration as an incident Mr. Allan says much that is suggestive. It has been strangely neglected, he points out, in Creeds and in devotions, and it is symbolic of much. "It is an integral epitome of the order of our being, and typical of its ever-upward course in the unfolding of the vast centuries of Time." Of Transfiguration, however, the author constructs a philosophy, and it leads on to a philosophy of Prayer and of Doctrine.

The Transfiguration meant essentially our Lord's coming to full self-knowledge. He "read His Consciousness without mistakes," and therefore could say, "I am the Light of the world." For consciousness, on the author's view, is the guarantee of Truth; and if Jesus or any man in the light of his own consciousness bears witness to himself, he needs no other witness to the truth of what he declares. But what is this fundamental "I am" consciousness? It comes to be the same thing as "Space-

consciousness." Space, according to Mr. Allan, is something of which science, philosophy and theology have neglected the most essential features. Space has many of the qualities that we usually attribute to God. "Space-consciousness" is consciousness of ultimately Real Being in which all relativities such as mind-matter or spirit-body disappear; such concepts as Personality vanish; and, in particular, sin ceases to have meaning. "It is in this All-embracing Space that we find the key to and the absolute explanation of the transfiguration of Jesus, and of all He was and said and did, as well as all the relativities of the Cosmos. For Space alone refers itself to itself absolutely, acknowledging no other possible. It is, therefore Conscious Being of all being, without which it is not possible to the Human Mind to think or even image anything to be." "Space takes the place of Cause."

That science, philosophy and theology have neglected this view of space is perhaps not astonishing.

W. D. N.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

THE late Mrs. Herman contributed seven Lenten meditations to *The Church Times*. These are now reprinted in *The Finding of the Cross* (James Clarke, 3*s*. net). The title is taken from the last of the studies, in which she explains that to find the Cross is to meet Jesus Christ, and to meet Him with a sympathy for His Cross. "There is only one way of really finding the Cross, and not merely looking at it, and that is by making common cause with the Crucified Lord." The previous studies lead up to this conclusion. They are written with obvious fervour, and insist freshly upon things like penitence, wonder, self-discipline and meditation. In one of them Mrs. Herman quotes a priest who, "arguing against the invocation of saints, has said that, in his experience, people who prayed to the saints found their belief slip away from them in time—probably at an hour of crisis—and were left with their faith in God shaken. That is undoubtedly true to fact." Mrs. Herman, however, thinks that it cannot be accepted as a valid argument against invoking the saints. Her plea is not successful. It has against it, for example,

the extremely significant silence of the New Testament, a silence which is deliberate. But usually the arguments in this small book are sound, practical counsels, urged with real felicity of expression.

* * * * *

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have published another batch of tracts, issued by the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement, each costing threepence.

The Highway of the Cross, by J. P. R. Gibson, M.A., Principal of Peradeniya Training College, Ceylon.

Bible Study, by H. B. Gooding, M.A., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.

Christian Worship, by G. H. Harris, M.A., Rector of Middle with East Claydon, Bucks.

The Christian Ministry, by Dr. A. J. Carlyle, University College, Oxford.

Fatalism or Freewill? by V. J. Brook, M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.

Prayer as a Problem, by E. A. Burroughs, D.D., Dean of Bristol.

The Unity of Faith and Science, by Dr. J. George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University.

These are admirable short specimens of educational instruction in religion. Mr. Gibson, for example, lays stress upon the atoning sorrow in the heart of God, which found effective expression in the death of Christ for sin. Mr. Harris pleads skilfully for the appreciation of symbolism in worship, and puts the case for a revision of the Prayer Book, in the interests of religious reality. "The descriptions of God, in our present Book of Common Prayer, are often defective," because they do not reflect His character as revealed in Jesus Christ. Dr. Carlyle has an easy task in showing that it is impossible to establish the theory "that a valid Ministry depends upon a continuous succession of ordination from the apostles"; he argues that congregationalism, episcopacy and presbyterianism are complementary rather than contradictory, when a true view of the Ministry is taken. Mr. Brook writes wisely on moral responsibility, and indeed all the tracts show a combination of good sense and Christian conviction which is most welcome.

* * * * *

The record of the *Third Baptist World Congress* (London:

Kingsgate Press, 10*s.* 6*d.*) is a richly illustrated and closely packed account of the proceedings at Stockholm in July of last year. Dr. W. T. Whitley has edited the work with his customary care, and Dr. J. H. Shakespeare contributes a preface, in which he regrets the enforced absence of Dr. Clifford. "Much would have been different had he been with us, pre-eminent in character and intellect, combining an immense devotion to Baptist progress and principles with a most conciliatory and genial spirit. However, it was a great Congress and a fine programme." We learn that while the first of the Congress sermons was preached by a Scottish Canadian, it was an American delegate, not a Scotsman, who preached the longest sermon; it seems to have lasted for seventy-five minutes. The Congress laid a wreath of crimson roses, white lilies and oak leaves, at the foot of the great sarcophagus of Gustavus Adolphus in the city. In its various meetings it seems to have covered a wide range of interests which are vital to the denomination, and this book will recall pleasant memories to the delegates. The spirit of the Congress was well expressed by Principal Blomfield, who asked, "Why are we here? For a holiday picnic or for serious business? Surely we have not come great distances merely to shake hands, say how much we love each other, and fire off eloquent speeches. We remember the apostolic word, 'Let us not love in word only but in deed and in truth.' We have come here to give expression to the unity of all the churches of our faith and order, and to promote the spirit of fellowship, service and co-operation."

* * * * *

The United Original Secession Church of Scotland is a tiny sect, compared to the Baptists, and it is barely a hundred years old. But it has had some honourable men in its membership and ministry; it has a little foreign mission among the Seoni of India; and a brief popular account of it, called the *History and Doctrine of the United Original Secession Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: W. F. Henderson, 1*s.*), has been published, with the special aim of instructing its members in the traditions and principles of their communion. Three of the chapters give a simple, finely toned account of what this sect believes about Christianity.

* * * * *

The twofold attraction of *Love and the Messianic Age* (Episcopal

Hebrew Christian Church Publications, 3*s.* 6*d.*) is that it breaks new ground in research, and that it is by a thoroughly competent investigator. It is a study, with extracts, of Jewish mediæval Hasidic writings, which have not yet been rendered into English. The Rev. Paul B. Levertoff, M.Litt., is an acknowledged expert in this field of study. He develops here an outline of the mystical trend in these writings, comparing their doctrine of love with that of the Fourth Gospel. "Although the trend of this type of Jewish piety has an almost Johannine colouring," Mr. Levertoff points out, "the atmosphere of the New Testament is a totally different one." This is argued quietly and decisively, but not in any controversial spirit. The book is alive with a sincere desire to do justice to the mystical aspirations within rabbinic and Talmudic Judaism. Incidentally, in connexion with a point raised already in this issue of the EXPOSITOR, I may quote this, about Christ's love in the Fourth Gospel. "As His love for men has its source solely in God, men's desires do not move Him to action. The people could not force Him to do 'signs and wonders' against His will. Even towards His mother He maintained His independence. Similarly, at first He leaves the request expressed in ii. 3 unanswered. The same is true of vii. 3."

* * * * *

The Minister and His Greek New Testament. By the Rev. Prof. A. T. Robertson, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 7*s.* 6*d.*

"The drift back towards Greek is definite, particularly among ministers." So Professor Robertson is able to report, about his country and Church. I wish one could say the same about this country. But a book like this, which describes the language and illustrates exegesis at work, ought to encourage beginners to study New Testament Greek, as well as to incite ministers to use their Greek New Testament freely. Dr. Robertson's enthusiasm is quite infectious. He has a superb faith even in the grammar of the New Testament as a means of grace. "The modern minister should feel grammatical research a gold mine for his soul and for the sermon." Certainly, if he desires to know how this may be done, let him read this cheery book with its precepts and examples. Many young clergymen ought, for their soul's sake, to ponder Dr. Robertson's advice.

The Heptadic Structure of Scripture. With a Chapter on Seven and Four in Nature. By R. McCormack. Marshall Brothers, Ltd.

Mr. McCormack's theory is that "seven" has been divinely worked into the chronology and literary structure of the Bible; even the very number of letters in some words and the number of times that others occur are divinely arranged. "Most words singly or in combination with others from the same root, or of similar meaning, occur a multiple of seven times either in the same book or in the whole of the Old and New Testaments respectively, sometimes in both Testaments combined." The writers were unconscious of this. It was the doing of the Lord, and therefore it ought to be marvellous in our eyes. To restore this seven-fold symmetry Mr. McCormack has often to deal speculatively with the text of the Bible, since on his theory it has been corrupted. However, he argues, "in most cases, especially in the New Testament, the mischief is not irreparable." One of these conjectures is that Psalm cxxi. 6 originally read:

"By day the sun shall not smite thee,
And in the night the moon shall give thee light,"

which is a lame couplet. He also presses the absence of the article in John xxi. 9 ("*a* fish"). "Must we add this one to the 153, as symbolical of those who, like the thief on the Cross, are saved directly by Christ without the agency of the Church, and so obtain the heptadic number 154 (7×22)?" The book is full of fanciful calculations, which show a minute study of the text of the Bible, but the proof that the heptadic structure helps to determine the true text leaves one reader at least totally unconvinced.

* * * * *

Some Minor Works of Richard Rolle. Translated and edited by Geraldine E. Hodgson, Litt.D. London: John M. Watkins. 5*s.* net.

The eleven or twelve short tracts, which Miss Hodgson has deftly rendered into modern English, have no great intrinsic value. Miss Hodgson claims that it may indeed be said of Richard Rolle, this fourteenth century hermit in the North of England, this Oxford undergraduate who at the age of nineteen retired as far as he could from the world and the Church in order to contemplate God—Miss Hodgson claims that we may say of

him as of Socrates, "that men go away from listening to him with the point of what he said sticking in their minds, so that they cannot get rid of it." Some of Rolle's work has a beauty of appeal, but I have read carefully every sentence of these tracts, and they have left not a memorable saying in my mind. This may be due to some temperamental defect of sympathy. But a man must speak as he has fared in the market. There are a few sound remarks, but they have all been better said elsewhere, by mystics or non-mystics. And there are many unsound sentences. Why should a thing like this, for example, stick to one's mind?—"When thou risest out of thy bed in the morning or at midnight, think at once how many thousand men and women have perished in body and soul that night. . . . Some robbed, wounded, slain, suddenly dead without sacraments and fallen into everlasting damnation." Miss Hodgson adds a version of S. Bonaventura's "Privity of the Passion," an ardent, imaginative meditation upon our Lord's sufferings. This is more wholesome, and as Bonaventura probably influenced Richard Rolle, it is relevant.

The main value of this small book is historical. It supplies students of mediæval mysticism with data for completing their acquaintance with Rolle's mystical theology. "As his pages lie open before us, it may dawn upon us that this forgotten man, the true Father of English prose, stands the test of genius. His meaning was not for his own age alone, but also for ours." This may not dawn upon all. But even when our cool judgment allows such enthusiasm to blow by, there remains gratitude to the editor and translator of these small pieces.

* * * * *

Atonement and Non-Resistance. By W. E. Wilson, B.D. London: The Swarthmore Press, 1*s*.

A "pacifist" pamphlet, which seems to regard God as a magnified human individual who is content to let people see that they have hurt him by their sins, but who will not react against any violation of the moral order. How long will it take before it sinks into the minds of some people that when our Lord was speaking of "smiting on the right cheek," He was not referring to injuries or attacks, but to insolent behaviour? Facts like these, and far more serious facts of punishment and morality, are ignored entirely in this well-intentioned but unbalanced pamphlet.

The Apocalypse of St. John. By M. G. Glazebrook. John Murray. 6*s.*

In this volume of the Modern Churchman's Library, Canon Glazebrook practically follows Dr. Charles. An exposition (pp. 1–153) is followed by a re-arrangement of the text, in the Authorised Version, in which, e.g., vii. 1–4 is followed by viii. 1, 3–5, 2, 6, 13, and xvi. 6–8 follows xix. 1–4, while xx. 4–15, xxi. 5, 1–4, are intercalated between xxii. 1–2, 14–17, and xxii. 3–5. Canon Glazebrook's position is that "it is not in his definite predictions, which remain unfulfilled," that the value of the prophet's message lies, but "in the picture which he gives of the Early Church, in his faith that human history is directed by divine providence, and in his ideals of the life to come." Canon Glazebrook interprets the book clearly and convincingly, along this familiar line. Thus, he sees in "the resurrection of the dead Nero, who becomes the most dangerous form of the Beast," a parable of the fact that "an old and corrupt order is never so formidable as in a time of reaction. After Constantine's championship of Christianity there came a recrudescence of heathenism which infected the Church with a lasting disease. After the triumph of the Reformation there came the establishment of the Jesuit order. After the defeat of Germany a double portion of the German spirit may be given to some other nation or league of nations." The book as a whole is a successful attempt to popularise Dr. Charles' theory, though it does not make the latter any more convincing to those who have worked at it. But readers who cannot follow the larger work may find real help in Canon Glazebrook's pages, which disentangle the main results with singular skill. This would be a useful book for clergymen who wished to clear up the minds of their people on the subject.

The author proposes to translate "the beasts" or "the living creatures" (p. 47) by "cherubim," since that term best represents the sense of the original. The prophet, I agree, did have the cherubim of Ezekiel x. and the seraphim of Isaiah vi. in his mind. But our modern conception of "cherub" is surely that of a rosy, chubby little creature, as in Raphael's painting. To prevent these misleading associations from intruding, it would be better to print the word "Kherubim."

CURRENT ISSUES.

WHAT is it that troubles us to-day? What is the trouble that besets the moderns who live by the ideas of the Bible, with their permanent value for life and their primitive Oriental setting? We are more and more alive to the latter, in these days of anthropology. Our great sacred Book shows stages of development in morals, and in the expression of religious conviction, which we can no longer share. In other words, the primitive survives in our religion. And this creates the difficulty. It is raised by Dr. Israel Abrahams in his lectures on *Some Permanent Values in Judaism*. As he says, 'it is not the great ideas of the Bible that trouble us; these great ideas console, guide, strengthen us; they do not trouble us. What we live by, what our fathers lived by—this is patent. But what of those things by which our fathers lived and we live no longer?"

* * * * *

This is the condition of every historical religion. And the first thing we have to do is to be sure that we have learned the full lesson of the past before we turn our backs upon it. The modern is apt to discard the past too abruptly. He is impatient of what seems to him an outworn superstition or a bygone phase of thought, so impatient that he may fail to appropriate the good in it as he passes forward. "I often say to myself," Carlyle declared, "Jesuitism and other Superstitious Scandals cannot go, till we have read and appropriated from them the tradition of these lost noblenesses, and once more under the new conditions made them ours." True progress means this patient effort to appreciate what was valuable in the past. Otherwise it is thin and narrow in facing the future.

* * * * *

But Dr. Abrahams claims more than this. He glories in the survival of the primitive in religion. He admits that the vital thing is present values, not past origins. But he is glad that in

Judaism there are primitive survivals, reminders of the far past. For these, he argues, help to prevent the modern mind from becoming onesided and vague. Thus he sees in the primitive Hebrew religion a lasting significance attaching even to its crude representations of the Deity. " It is primitive to think of God as close at hand, speaking to Moses face to face as a man to his fellow ; it is primitive to place God in a local heaven, above the earth, for science has left us no room for any divine seat in the skies." Such primitive views are no longer ours. But mark, says Dr. Abrahams, how much good they have done. They have worked together to yield the two vital ideas of an immanent and a transcendent God, and without these ideas there is no adequate religion. So the primitive need not trouble us unduly, if we have learned its truths for ourselves. It may even serve us.

* * * * *

Only, we must be sure that we are not making primitive things out of what is not primitive. Some things are not so old as they seem. We know this in many departments. A practice is sometimes claimed as " catholic " and mediæval, for example, which is only a few centuries old, maybe not even that. Dr. Abrahams gives one amusing instance from music. One favourite melody in the synagogues, he says, is frequently described as " traditional," whereas " it was composed by Mr. Membach in my presence and at my suggestion less than half a century ago." So rapidly may a false antiquity attach to some modern custom ! It would not be difficult to give some parallel cases from Christian music. Because an idea or a practice in the Church has won acceptance, those who desire to conserve it are tempted unconsciously to invest it with the sanctions of age.

* * * * *

But the same applies to origins. And here Dr. Abrahams chooses the old Hebrew command, " Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk," to illustrate his point. This sounds very primitive, as if it were a reference to some early superstition about using such milk to produce fertility in fields. It may prohibit some form of sacrifice, for in Exodus xxiii. 19 and xxiv. 26 it occurs in such connexions. Or again, as it is a food prohibition in Deuteronomy xiv. 21, it may mean, as Robertson Smith thought, a forbidden food, since " many primitive peoples regard milk as a kind of equivalent for blood, and thus to eat a kid

seethed in its mother's milk might be taken as equivalent to eating 'with the blood,'" a violation of Hebrew law. Whatever be the explanation, it denotes some very primitive tabu. So at least most scholars take it. Indeed some, like Professor Kennett, make it the tenth commandment of a special decalogue contained in Exodus xxxiv. Dr. Abrahams, however, pleads that it has no such primitive origin and aim. He views it as a humanitarian regulation, just as Philo the Alexandrian Jew did. Philo's point was, "Keep cruelty out of your kitchen. You need not be so inhuman as to choose the very mother's own milk in which to cook her young." On this view the presence of the regulation in the Bible would not be the relic of an ancient tabu, but a moral precept. But was it so? This so-called humanitarian principle sounds rather sentimental. It is the sentimental fallacy over again, attributing to a goat some sense and feeling about the use made of its milk. One can readily understand Philo putting such an interpretation on the passage. It is like a number of similar fancies in his exposition of ancient Pentateuchal laws, which seemed unintelligible to him and his cultured age. Details of the code, as they stood in the letter of the Old Testament, had to be explained in such a way as to yield a lasting sense for later days. Hence Philo moralised this law. We hesitate to agree with Dr. Abrahams that the humanitarian aim was the original motive of the prohibition.

* * * * * *

In reading the Bible we have to bear in mind another truth. It is this, that the writers occasionally assume truths; they mention a fact, and do not insist upon it any further. It is there, and no more need be said about it. Professor E. F. Scott, in his recent book upon *The Spirit in the New Testament*, reminds us for example that Mark assumes the constant possession of the Spirit by Jesus after His baptism. The evangelist tells how after that episode the Spirit drove Jesus into the wilderness. After that, Mark "does not explicitly return to the idea of a control by the Spirit. He feels that henceforth it is unnecessary to insist on a fact which may be taken for granted." Unlike older prophets and heroes who had occasional ecstasies and accesses of spiritual energy, Jesus experienced always the power and presence of the Spirit. The relationship noted at the baptism underlay the whole course of his subsequent career.

Another assumption which is sometimes overlooked is that Jesus was from the first conscious of supernatural powers. The story of the three temptations is unintelligible except on this supposition. Jesus was tempted not to claim but to misuse His unique endowment. The subtlety of the temptations lay in His consciousness that He was the Son of God, with power over nature and with superhuman faculties. It was not a consciousness to which He gradually came. It was the start of His career. And it is again only as we bear this in mind that we can understand much of what follows in the story of his life.

* * * * *

As for the narrative of the temptations themselves, two points are to be noted about the first temptation. One is that spiritual exaltation can hold up nature for a time, but only for a time. Jesus did without food, He fasted for a while, and then felt hungry. Not long afterwards there is another case of absorption in spiritual work rendering Him indifferent to the physical claims. When He was talking to the woman of Samaria, He became so interested that He forgot to be hungry ; the disciples came back with the food He and they had required, but He replied, " I have meat to eat that ye know not." The other point about the first temptation is that the first word spoken by him after his baptism is a word upon the religious duty of men. " Man shall not live by bread alone."

* * * * *

In this number Dr. Vacher Burch discusses the psychical basis of the temptations. This is the first of some articles upon certain phases of the life and teaching of our Lord in the Gospels, by various writers, which will appear during the next few months. Meantime, if any student desires to see how much or how little light may be thrown by the new psychology upon the temptations of Jesus, he may consult M. Georges Berguer's new book upon *Some Aspects of the Life of Jesus* (pp. 164 f.), where we are shown that the significance of the episode lies here, that while Jesus hitherto had simply to direct His own life, He was now confronted by the problem of how to communicate His life and the truth of God to sinful humanity, or, in other words, to serve and save them without compromising what had been entrusted to Himself by the Father.

* * * * *

Now that Mr. Cannon's studies on Hosea are concluded, we begin the publication of two special studies in the Law and the Prophets of the Old Testament. There is a revival of interest at present in the ten commandments, both from the critical and from the ethical or expository side. The decalogue is being studied afresh, and Mr. Flowers begins a set of papers upon the sense and scope of the ten commandments which will prove a boon to many students of the subject. Also we begin the publication of an essay by the veteran scholar, Hermann Gunkel of Halle. Practically nothing of his work has been translated in this country, and yet he has been one of the pioneers in the newer movement of Old Testament criticism, which is not content to analyse documents but insists upon penetrating to the thought and emotion behind the letter. His edition of Genesis is one of the commentaries to which the most scrupulous would not hesitate to apply the term "great." The present essay is one contributed to a remarkable popular edition of the Old Testament called "Die Schriften des Alten Testaments," in eight volumes. The commentary began in 1915. It gives a fresh translation, and is accompanied by running notes and introductions. Gunkel's study is contributed to the volume on the Prophets, edited by his friend and pupil Hans Schmidt of Giessen. It has been translated for our columns by Rev. A. K. Dallas, M.A.

THE TEN BEST BOOKS ON THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.

A RECENT writer on St. Paul remarks that in the Library of the Theological School with which he is connected there are "more than two thousand volumes dealing with the life and letters of the Apostle Paul, or more than one for each year since his time, not to speak of the multitudinous commentaries and histories in which the teaching of Paul has a prominent place." And the Editor desires a list of the ten best books! It is obvious than any such list must be arbitrary and individual, and, as I look over what I

have written, though I refer to many more than ten books, I am conscious of a sense of ingratitude, for many books to which I owe much are not even mentioned. Books best for whom? It would be an impertinence to suggest books for the professional student, for a man does not go far in his studies without discovering what is for him the most necessary literature. I would like this article to serve preachers with little time for reading, and theological students who are looking forward, not to professorial chairs, but to the practical work of the Church, whether at home or on the mission field.

As preachers we have in regard to Paul a threefold problem: (i.) to get Paul loved, (ii.) to get him understood, and (iii.) to determine for ourselves what measure of authority we have the right to claim for his interpretation of Christianity.

Many in our congregations quite frankly dislike Paul. They regard him as a logician, or, worse still, what they call a "theologian." They believe they understand the Gospels, but Paul is to them a sophisticator of the teaching of Jesus—a strange belief, for, difficult as Paul may be to understand, his words present less serious problems than do the apparently simple words of Jesus. It is not surprising that, although Paul has been canonised, in the Roman Church he is not a "saint" whose intercession and protection are greatly sought, for the writer of the Epistle to the Galatians must always be alien from popular Catholic piety. But it is saddening that in the Protestant Churches, which owe to Paul their very life, there are so many to whom he is unattractive. Much is doubtless due to the reaction against the harsh Protestant orthodoxy for which he is wrongly held responsible. Plans of salvation, elaborate theories of justification and predestination, have had their day, and, since these were based chiefly on Paul's words,

the great Apostle of Christian liberty has been made to appear as the gaoler of the spirit, and many hold with Renan that "the reign of Paul is in our days on the point of coming to an end. . . . The true expression of Christianity is not to be found in the Epistle to the Romans but in the Sermon on the Mount. . . . Paul is the father of the subtle Augustine, the arid Aquinas, the sombre Calvinist, the sour Jansenist, and the ferocious theology which predestinates to damnation. Jesus is the father of those who seek repose for their souls in the dreams of the ideal world."

If there are some in our Churches who dislike Paul, there are more who confess that they are quite unable to understand him. Jesus spoke in words of seeming artlessness, and timeless simplicity, and drew His metaphors chiefly from the perennial scenes of country life. Paul was a townsman, and drew his metaphors from the fleeting scenes of a civilisation which has passed away, and, in his controversies with Jews and Gentiles, employed the categories of the men of his age—categories which to-day require to be translated.[1] Much of the failure to understand Paul arises from the popular fallacy of regarding him as a theologian of the schools, instead of as a prophet, gaining truth, not by reasoning, but by intuition, although defending his intuitions in the dialectic of his age. Paul's words are unintelligible only as they are left unrelated to his experience. We know the man through his epistles, but we can understand the epistles only as we know the man. His thoughts succeed each other quickly, and their connexion is often more of emotion than of logic. Our Authorised Version hides Paul here. Few get to know him who rely on that alone. It not only breaks up his

[1] For illustrations of this I would refer to Moffatt's *Approach to the New Testament*, 1921, a book full of fresh material for the preacher.

involved periods into verses, but makes him speak with the stately placidity of some great ecclesiastic, and, for all its beauty, fails to express the passion of his often broken Greek. Moffatt's translation of the New Testament is of inestimable service here. It enables even those ignorant of Greek to feel something of the tension of Paul's words, and depicts a Paul, not of the stained glass window, but of the crowded world in which he did his work.

(I.) There are two books which seem peculiarly well adapted to dispel prejudices against Paul, and win for him that love which is the secret of understanding: Weinel's *Paulus*, published in the popular *Lebensfragen* Series in 1904, an English translation of which appeared in the Theological Translation Library in 1906 under the title *St. Paul, The Man and His Work*; and Peabody's *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*, published last year. It is with the man Paul that Weinel is chiefly concerned. "One might almost as well envisage Frederick the Great merely as a historian" as think of Paul "primarily as a theologian." The book is a book, not to dip into, but to read through, an easy and delightful task. Weinel writes brilliantly, and the book is admirably translated, but no translation can have quite the charm of Prof. Peabody's style and to many his may seem the more attractive book.[1] Both these books are written by "liberals," unable themselves to accept Paul's full view of Christ,[2] and, as many would feel, unduly eager to meet the "modern mind," but, just on this account, they are peculiarly well adapted to win for Paul, the man, the admiration and affection of those within our Churches who, in their

[1] It has the further advantage of appearing after J. Weiss's great book, *Urchristentum*, to which reference will be made later.

[2] See Dr. Strachan's criticism of Peabody in the February EXPOSITOR of this year.

revolt against traditional theology, feel themselves repelled by Paul.

(II.) Closely connected with this problem is the problem of making Paul understood. Here it is useful to have books which incorporate in one whole Paul's life and teaching. Perhaps the best summary sketches in our language are the articles on Paul in Hasting's Dictionaries; Findlay in the *Dictionary of the Bible*; Sanday in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Stalker in the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, and Menzies and Edie in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Of books which largely supersede the older English books, there is McNeile's useful little book, *St. Paul, His Life, Letters and Christian Doctrine*, 1920, and the much larger work of David Smith, *The Life and Letters of St. Paul*, 1919, which, written from a conservative standpoint, admirably relates his letters to his life.

For the external events of Paul's life, Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, and many later editions, is still indispensable. The book is too well known to need description. It is extraordinarily successful in making vivid and actual Paul's missionary journeys.

On the teaching of Paul, there is a multiplicity of books, but as yet no consensus of opinion. Anyone interested in the bewildering variety of German theories can find them described with mordant wit in a book of Schweitzer's, translated under the title *Paul and his Interpreters*, 1912. There is also a full account of earlier theories given in Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, 1897 (2nd and posthumous edition, 1911), which is an indispensable manual for advanced study. In English, some of the best aids to the interpretation of Paul's teaching are to be found in the standard commentaries. Thus Lightfoot's classic works on Galatians, Philippians and Colossians,

and Armitage Robinson's *Ephesians* in the same series; Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, and Burton's recent commentary on Galatians in the International Critical Commentaries; Denney's *Romans* and Peake's *Colossians* in the Expositor's Greek New Testament, are of the greatest value, not to students only, but to preachers.

Of books in English dealing with Paul's teaching, it is well to turn first to a book, now not only old, but obsolete; Pfleiderer's *Paulinism*, 1877, a translation from the first edition of the German, and so representing Pfleiderer's "pre-Hellenic" phase. Its criticism is largely out of date, and it attempts unduly to turn Paul's religious intuitions into the theologoumena of a systematic thinker, but it does seek to present the data "objectively," and its very failure to construct a unified "Paulinism" from the immanent necessity of Paul's logic, is useful as an indication of what the problems of Paul's thought really are. As we read Pfleiderer's or Holtzmann's exposition, we can understand Deissmann's remark: "I am afraid the people of Iconium, Thessalonica, Corinth would all have been overtaken by the fate of Entychus of Troas, if they had been obliged to listen to the Christological, hamartiological, and eschatological paragraphs of modern "Paulinism." [1]

Two of the older books in English have still great value: Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul* (E. T. 1891), and A. B. Bruce's *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1896. Sabatier was among the first to emphasise the development of Paul's thought, and it is possible that he shows in this too much the zeal of the pioneer, but his description of the teaching of the Epistles is of unsurpassed lucidity. A. B. Bruce's book is one which time has not made stale. Naturally it does not deal with recent controversies, but I know no English book which so successfully relates Paul's theology

[1] *St. Paul*, p. 6.

to his experience. Bruce restricted his treatment to the four great epistles, and was, perhaps, unduly reluctant to recognise development in Paul's thought, even after he had written the Epistle to the Romans. But, on Paul's central doctrines, Bruce writes with rare insight and sympathy. Reischle, speaking of non-Christian religions, remarks that no description can be adequate unless it be a "hypothetical re-experience." It is this that Bruce provides in his description of Paul's Christianity, and no English book is of richer value to the preacher.

A very useful account of Paul's teaching is given in Stevens' *The Theology of the New Testament*, 1901, which summarises his earlier book on *The Pauline Theology*, 2nd ed., 1897. Dr. Garvie's *Studies in Paul and his Gospel*, 1911, shows those qualities of learning and lucidity, suggestiveness and sympathy, which have made him one of the most influential of Free Church Teachers. Dodd's *The Meaning of Paul for To-day* is a short and popular book, intimately related to modern needs. From the Anglican Church have come three books written from very different standpoints. Du Bose's *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, 1907, stands in a class by itself, and could have been written only by its author. It was very highly praised by Dr. Sanday in a review in the EXPOSITOR reprinted in his *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. It is not a student's textbook. There is no index, no footnotes, no references to other writers. Catholic in doctrine, it is individual in treatment, the product of long and solitary meditation. As Dr. Sanday pointed out, the teaching of the book has much in common with that of Moberley's *Atonement and Personality*, and it thus makes its prime appeal to those who approach Paul's doctrines from the standpoint of an experience more Catholic than Evangelical. It lacks the note, say, of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*. But it is a great book, full of suggestiveness

and closely related to human experience. And even for those of us who cannot accept much of its teaching, the book may help to show that "the mystery of the incarnation" is "the mystery which solves and illumines all others." With this book may be contrasted Gardner's *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, written by a Modern Churchman, who, approaching St. Paul from the standpoint of religious psychology, seeks to relate him to what he calls "modernity," and to show that "the great debt of humanity to Paul lies in that which he himself regarded as most important, 'his mystery of salvation by faith,' which has been not only the mainspring of his own life, but the source of the best life of the Christian Church from that day to this." The third book is Headlam's *St. Paul and Christianity*, 1913, written from a position intermediate between Du Bose and Gardner. It is needless to say that it is a book both learned and authoritative.

There are four brief accounts of Paul's teaching, too slight to be named among the best books on Paul, which should not be overlooked, as they have an importance out of all relation to their size: Moffatt's *Paul and Paulinism*, 1910; Andrews' *The Value of the Theology of St. Paul for Modern Thought*, 2nd edit. 1915; Peake's *The Quintessence of Paulinism*, 1917, and Dean Inge's in the first series of his famous *Outspoken Essays*. As a sign of the new interest in St. Paul by preachers, it is gratifying to notice the number of popular books on Paul which have appeared in recent years, written, not by professional students, but by men engaged in the active work of the ministry. Of these it must suffice to mention Cohu's *St. Paul in the Light of Modern Research*, 1911; Strachan, *The Individuality of St. Paul*, 1916; and last, and, for the preacher, perhaps, the most useful of all, D. M. Ross's *The Faith of St. Paul*, 1923.

No mention has so far been made of one of the most

important English books on Paul in recent years : Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, 1917. Morgan's treatment is strongly influenced by the attempts of German scholars to explain much of Paul's theology by the influence on him of the mystery-cults held to be current in his age and place. I mention Morgan's book last, because it makes a natural transition to the third problem of the preacher who has not only to get Paul loved and understood, but also to determine for himself what measure of authority he has the right to claim for Paul's interpretation of Christianity.

(III.) Was Paul the classic witness of the Christian experience, or, is his teaching a perversion of the " simple " teaching of Jesus ? That is an old and familiar problem. It is inevitable that those who see in Jesus just the first true believer in God the Father, should feel that Paul has a different religion from his Master, for Paul preached Christ as a living and eternal Lord. This old controversy has in this century been discussed with fresh vigour, and from new standpoints. Paul's " Christ-cult " is assigned, not to the immanent necessities of his logic, but to (1) the influence of current Jewish beliefs in a Heavenly Man, or (2) of pagan mystery-cults with their redeemer-gods.

(1) Of the first view, Wrede was the best-known exponent. His book on *Paul*, 1904, (E.T. 1907) appeared in a series of popular " Religio-historical " booklets which were sold at a low price, and had a very large circulation. To Wrede, Paul is primarily a theologian whose theology is his religion. And this theology he had in substance before he was a Christian. He believed in a heavenly being, a divine Christ, before he believed in Jesus. At the moment of his conversion, when he thought he saw Jesus in His risen glory, he transferred to Jesus all the conceptions he already had of a heavenly Christ. Thus his picture of

Christ was not derived from any impression of the person of Christ. "What we prize in the man Jesus, His moral majesty, His purity and piety, meant, for His Christology, nothing."

Christ's humanity was to Paul purely formal and retained only because his theology demanded that the Christ should suffer and die. As, in an earlier book,[1] Wrede had asserted that it was only after the disciples believed that Jesus had risen that they claimed Him as the Messiah, it is clear that if we accept Wrede's interpretation, there is no possible transition between the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of Paul. Paulinism is the product, not of Christianity, but of a Jewish dogmatic, which, through his vision, Paul attached to the figure of Jesus. In the same series as Wrede's *Paul*, Bousset had written an account of *Jesus*, which is one of the loveliest of the "liberal" pictures of Him. In it Jesus appears, not as the Church's Lord, but as the gracious hero of the religious life, the first true believer in God the Father. It is impossible to accept Bousset's *Jesus* and Wrede's *Paul* without admitting that Paul was an innovator, the creator of a new religion.

Wrede's book seemed to many far too doctrinaire. As Jülicher wrote in his little book *Paulus und Jesus*, 1907, in the same series, "An apostle of Jesus Christ, who declined to learn anything of the earthly life of the Messiah, and who acted thus in order to support his own dogmatic theory, is the product of the modern mania for logical consistency. It is certainly not the Paul of history." But the publication of Bousset's and Wrede's books in a popular series, which sold by tens of thousands, naturally led to an acute controversy, and revived in Germany, and later in England, interest in the old problem of the relation of Paul to Jesus. In English there are admirable discus-

[1] *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901.

sions by Dr. Anderson Scott, *Jesus and Paul* in the *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, and by Dr. McNeile in his recent book, *New Testament Teaching in the Light of St. Paul's*, 1923, where Wrede's views are fully criticised. Dr. Ross's book, already mentioned, is also of great value here and seeks to show that we have to go back to Jesus, not from Paul, but with him, and deals with the *Faith of St. Paul* under the two heads: The Dependence of Paul upon Jesus, and Paul the Interpreter of Jesus.

(2) More popular in recent years has been the attempt to explain away Paul's theology by assigning the place he gives to Christ to the influence, not of a Jewish "Messiah-Dogmatic," but of Hellenistic Mystery Cults. Perhaps the best known writer of this school is Reitzenstein, whose book, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1910 (2nd edit. 1920) gives the most convenient summary of the evidence on which this view is based. The school is represented in English by the writings of Kirsopp Lake. Thus in his *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 2nd edit. 1919, Lake, while recognising that Paul cannot be held responsible for the innovation, asserts that at Antioch there began the transition from "the belief that the Messiah was Jesus, and that He was speedily coming to set up the Kingdom of God, to the creed in which the original meaning of the word 'Messiah' or 'Christ' was almost wholly forgotten; Jesus was regarded a Redeemer-God, and the Sacraments became the real centre of Christianity." The view receives a cautious expression in Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, which has been already mentioned. Morgan admits that Paul everywhere assumes that his conception of Christ is that of the Church in general, but Morgan is confident that "on the soil of a strict monotheism," the belief that Jesus was Lord "did not, and could not arise. There is but one possible explanation, and it

is to be found in the fact that at an early period of its history Christianity was carried from the soil of Judaism to that of Hellenism," where there were mystery-cults which called their patron divinities "Lord." The views of this school have been severely criticised by Kennedy in *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, 1913, and by Clemen, in the book translated into English under the title *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, 1912. Until the evidence has been thoroughly sifted, the question must be regarded as still *sub judice*. But the problem is not one for scholars alone, for the theory is not based only on historic evidence. Behind it lies the assumption that the Jesus of the Gospels was such that only an alien influence could account for the ascription to Him later of the title "Lord." Much of the discussion would have more reality if scholars were as ready to learn of the contact of Christianity with oriental religions to-day as they are of its contact with the Græco-oriental synthesis of the first century. Paul, after all, was a missionary. And, like the most influential missionaries in India to-day, he had a synthetic mind, and was responsive to his environment. That he expressed his Gospel in the terms of his age and place, and discovered new meaning in his message through contact with new needs, is natural. But, if he derived the essentials of his message from his environment, then he did what no other missionary we know of has done; he gave his life for a Gospel which derived, not its expression only, but its essence from the peoples among whom he worked. New needs reveal new resources, but a missionary does not increase his inheritance; he learns to possess it, and that we may believe is what Paul did.[1]

[1] There is an interesting illustration of this in the life-work of one of the greatest of contemporary theologians, Julius Kaftan, till lately Professor at Berlin. His early writings (e.g., *Die Wahrheit der Christlichen Religion*, 1888) have much of the narrowness of the older Ritsch-

The Religio-historical School seems, in its extreme representatives, to fail just where the older expositions of "Paulinism" failed, by undue intellectualism. In vivid contrast to all such constructions is Deissmann's *St. Paul. A Study in Social and Religious History*, 1912, which seeks "to come back from the paper St. Paul of our Western libraries, Germanised, dogmatised, modernised, to the historic St. Paul, to penetrate through the 'Paulinism' of our New Testament theologies to the St. Paul of ancient reality." It is possible that Deissmann overestimates the lowly origin of Paul, and ignores unduly his intellectual interests, but many would agree with him when he says that "St. Paul is essentially a hero of piety, first and foremost. That which is theological is secondary with him. The naïve is stronger with him than the premeditated, the mystic stronger than the dogmatic. Christ means more for him than Christology. God more than the doctrine of God. He is far more a man of prayer and witness, a confessor and a prophet, than a learned exegetist and brooding dogmatist." Deissmann's book is unfortunately out of print, and hard to procure. His views are summed up in the latter half of his *Religion of Jesus and the Faith of Paul*, 1923, in which he declares that Paul is "not so much the great Christologos as the great Christophoros,

lianism. He has himself told us (*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, July, 1908) that it was as he realised that there were religions of redemption, and that Christianity was among their number, that he grasped the fact that Christianity is not only an ethical religion; it is an ethical religion of redemption from the world, so that Christians are meant to live in time as those who live in the eternal, the eternal, which is not an undifferentiated infinite, but the eternal whose content is given us in the Risen Christ. To this new realisation we owe not only his rich *Dogmatik*, but his very suggestive essay on St. Paul. *Die Paulinische Predigt vom Kreuz Jesu Christi. Zur Dogmatik*, 1904, in which he emphasises the place which the Resurrection of Christ had in Paul's preaching, and the place it must have in ours, if the Protestant Church is to meet the needs which the Roman Church seeks to meet by the other-worldliness of monasticism.

not so much the great thinker on Christology as the great bearer of Christ."

As this article is for preachers, not for professional students, I have referred almost exclusively to books available in English. But I should like, in closing, to refer briefly to two recent German books which it would be worth while to learn German to read: Johannes Weiss's *Urchristentum* (completed by Knopf, and published in 1917, three years after Johannes Weiss's death), and Feine's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 3rd edit. 1919, of which the 4th edit., 1922, is unfortunately an abbreviation.

Johannes Weiss's book is a big book of nearly 700 pages, but it is a book of quite unusual interest and freshness. He rejects what he holds to be the onesidedness, both of those who see in Paul a systematic thinker and those who, at the other extreme, see in him a mystic who was primarily a hero of piety. To J. Weiss, the distinctive element in Paul lies in the very fact that in him religion and theology, piety and thought, are not separated. He was a theologian, not a theologian of the schools, but a missionary theologian whose theology was a theology of conversion and evangelisation. Johannes Weiss does not share to the full Paul's faith, but he writes of it with extraordinary sympathy and insight.

Feine, as a "Positive" theologian, has the advantage of sharing himself, in essence, the faith of Paul which he expounds. To him Paul's faith cannot be explained by the immanent necessities of his logic on the basis of Jewish or Hellenistic thought, nor as a reflection of current beliefs in a Heavenly Man, or Redeemer-Gods. It was the exposition of what Christ actually is in the terms of Paul's age and place. There is a full account in Feine of recent controversies, and no book I know is so useful a guide through the complex problems of Paul's interpretation of Christianity.

Where the literature is so vast it seems presumptuous to attempt to name the ten best books. With considerable hesitation I venture to give the following list:

1. (To remove prejudices): Weinel's *St. Paul, the Man and His Work*, or Peabody's *The Apostle Paul and the Modern World*.

2. (For a general sketch of life and teaching): McNeile's *St. Paul, His Life, Letters and Christian Doctrine*, or David Smith's *The Life and Letters of St. Paul*.

3. (For Paul's journeys): Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*.

4. Deissmann's *St. Paul*.

5. A. B. Bruce's *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*.

6. Garvie's *Studies in Paul and his Gospel*, or Steven's *Theology of the New Testament*, or Headlam's *St. Paul and Christianity*.

7. Du Bose's *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, or Gardner's *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*.

8. Morgan's *The Religion and Theology of Paul*.

9. Johannes Weiss's *Urchristentum*.

10. Feine's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*.

SYDNEY CAVE.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

IT is the prevailing custom among ancient peoples to regard their laws as being of divine origin and as resting ultimately upon the authority of the divine will. There are several grave moral dangers which lie in the wake of any community holding such an opinion. More than one of the evils that have persisted in religion and the injustices and harshnesses that have survived in a nobler civilisation have done so because, in their earlier stages, they were regarded

as the express injunctions of God. One of the gravest problems facing religious thinkers and ethical philosophers is that of rooting out primitive and immoral survivals in an advanced stage of religious life. Many people with a good religious training and more than a little of scientific culture often quite inconsistently retain beliefs which have come down as mere curiosities in the history of religion. Educated Christians, showing in many ways a really lofty type of life and exhibiting, in most things, a calm sanity of judgment, show, at the same time, such outrageous and barbarous views on isolated problems of ethics and religion as would make it impossible for us to understand them, did we not realise the frailty of the human mind and the power of persistence belonging to primitive beliefs. One of the questions we all have to face is the relationship between social custom, recognised national law, and the real authentic utterances of God. It may be, as some say, that *vox populi* is *vox Dei*. It may be, as others say, that nothing is divine that is not ancient, and that only that can be right which comes to us with the authority of hoary old age. It may also be that we ought to do whatever the Government of our own day and country happens to command. The difficulty with all these views is not so much that they contradict each other as that they do not go far enough. They may be right in nine cases out of ten, but in the tenth case they are wrong, and so far wrong that they upset completely the good effect of the nine cases in which they happen to be right. What do we mean by the will of God ? How are we to recognise it ? What are its sanctions ? Those are the questions facing all serious people.

As I have already suggested, the problem is not made any the easier to solve by the fact that all ancient peoples regarded their own particular national laws as being of divine origin. The doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope

when he speaks *ex cathedra* is tuned correctly to the primitive instinct. In Israel, God is represented as either writing the ten commandments with His own fingers or else as using Moses as His secretary, who simply writes what God commands. We find the same idea in Babylonia and in Rome. All the laws are the gift and command of God. Each age, in some way or another, has expressed the conviction that Law is not an invention of priests and kings and lawyers, but is conditioned by the will of God. The belief that underlying all laws made by man is one supreme law made by God is the foundation stone of practically all the legal codes which have yet been produced or ever will be produced. And it is true, so long as it is remembered that the national law is, at best, only a dim copy of the divine ideal. Racially speaking, there is a passion for the *status quo*. The present system is always the most obvious and is therefore divine. But when we collect all the codes of the world, we have very little to tell us where God's will begins and where it ends. It is disastrous quoting infallibilities: you never know where to stop. Codes contradict each other, and obviously they cannot all be right.

The difficulty is not lessened in the very least degree when the origin of law is traced by historical scholars. Some people take obscurity as the seal of divinity. They will believe anything so long as it is extraordinary or catastrophic. They will believe nothing is divine unless it is marvellous, and they distrust the authority of any system which began with humble origins. They make demands upon God for irrationality or they refuse to believe that He is rational. And yet the fact remains that no legal code has been let down from Heaven, perfectly finished and ready for use. If that were so, history would be impossible. All legal codes have gone through certain stages of

development which, although they dovetail into each other, can, with a fair degree of accuracy, be separated from each other. First of all, if we go far enough back, we find a state of lawlessness, when the individual is practically a law unto himself, and if any law of an external nature is recognised, it is very little more than the custom of the fathers. A later stage is reached when questions of dispute are referred to judges or priests and their decision is taken as final. In course of time, an unwritten code of law is developed, which is built up partly upon time-honoured customs and partly upon the test cases submitted to the priests. The next stage is reached when the primitive code of law is committed to writing, so that men may read it and know what it says. The last stage, and probably the most important stage, in the development of law is reached as soon as the conception is arrived at that the legal system must be so fashioned as to grow and meet the changing conditions of life. Once that stage is arrived at, a nation has put its feet firmly upon the road which leads to progress.

The difficulty with the Ten Commandments is this: they show clearly that they are the result of these stages of development and could have been arrived at only after centuries of ethical thinking. Anyhow, they could not have been given by God to Moses on the top of a mountain as though they were being accepted for the first time by a religious people. In regard to that, the verdict of history is clear and unmistakable. That, however, does not mean that their origin is other than divine. It ought to be possible to show that they are far more divine and far more binding upon the human conscience than if they had been given ten times by God on the top of ten mountains.

I doubt whether there is any single document of the same size as the Ten Commandments which has had a

greater influence over the moral and religious life of the race than they. The brevity of the Decalogue allows it to be easily committed to memory. The child and the savage, as well as the educated man, can easily learn it. All moral codes which have been powerful have been short, crisp and epigrammatic. Then, again, it is so comprehensive as almost to embrace the whole of life. It defines religion, it lays a fairly secure basis for theology and morals, it deals with our conduct as parents, children, neighbours and married people. It leaves out nothing that is important. And what is even more significant, because it is even more unique, it includes nothing that is unimportant. It deals with life in its broad outlines, life as it is endurably and unchangingly, and does not stoop to legislate upon the petty trifles that change from year to year. Through the combination of these qualities and many more, this Decalogue stands out from all other teaching. It has become part of the necessary furniture of the human mind. It is almost impossible for any civilised person to attain years of discretion without knowing something about it.

Then, again, the conscience of the race has invariably given its witness to the divinity of these laws. Historical origin is one thing: inherent worth is quite another. Of course that means that the Old Testament must be taken as the medium of a divine revelation. It is surely a strange position which many preachers of modern times take up, to try to interpret the message of Christ and yet to take it out of its context and show a total disregard of its historical preparation. In days gone by we may have read too much of God in the Old Testament: to-day we run the danger of reading too little. Of course, to put the Old Testament upon the same level as the New, to take the word of Moses as being of the same authority as that of Christ, to quote Daniel as proof that our Lord will come

again in physical form : all this may reveal a sort of reverence for the Bible, but it shows also a grave danger of totally misinterpreting Christ. There are many different kinds of writing in the Old Testament—poetry, legend, moralising, history, drama, preaching—and it is not all of the same value. It does not all stand on the same level, and some of the actions it praises we cannot do other than condemn. It is not the record of a revelation which is one and the same, of equal value from first to last. It is the record of what began humbly and ended divinely, and is continually shining more and more unto the perfect day. On the other hand, to throw over the Old Testament, to refuse to see in it the growth of God's purposes and the record of His grace, is to miss half of what God has done for the world, it is to lose a great deal of very valuable teaching, it is to show a colossal lack of imagination, and it is, moreover, to make revelation topsy-turvy, a wonderful end without any intelligible beginning. An oak is divine : and so also is an acorn.

It is necessary to read these laws in their context, not only as they stand relatively to the teaching of Jesus but as they stand in relation to the growth of Israel's religion. The really miraculous is hardly ever an event : it is generally a process. If we put these laws later than they are put in the Bible ; that is, if we follow historical science rather than tradition, they become far more intelligible. In the first case, they show themselves then to be the laws of a known God whose power had been tested in history. To place them at the beginning of Yahwism makes them unintelligible. We find in them not only the duty that must be carried out, but also the motive behind it. There can be no altar of any meaning raised to the memory of an unknown or little known God. We can have no obligations, except those of honest intellectual enquiry, towards

a God who has not revealed Himself. But a God who can say, "I am Yahweh, thy God, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," has the right and the power to make the claim, "Thou shalt serve no other Gods beside me." Before God gave these commands to Israel, He had rescued Israel from a position of servitude and made her into a free people. At the back of God's law, and prior to it, is God's love. God may not always act in the way in which He acted towards Israel, although it is dangerous to allow the doctrine of election to pass too completely out of modern thinking. If we would only get rid of that widely prevalent theory that the miraculous belongs to the past, we should see that God still uses His power to make and unmake nations and to enslave and deliver peoples. We cannot keep God in the world and yet take Him out of history. We should see that, even in Christ, in spite of all the difference His coming has made in the world, God's method of revelation was the same as in those olden days when He is reputed to have written His law on tablets of stone. God's love has always been the creative power behind His law. It is in love that He has always spoken first to men, even though the accents of love have had to be accommodated to primitive minds. The sovereignty of God's law consists in the sovereignty of His love. It is His love which is the controlling factor in His omnipotence. The one judge of everything in the Bible and out of it is the God who has revealed Himself in Christ. The one truth of which we must make ourselves indubitably certain and which we must hold against the world is that God is Christlike and has always been Christlike, that He has never done anything and never will do anything that is not Christlike. The worst atheism is the denial of the sovereignty of Christ in the moral character of God. We have to open our eyes

so that we may gaze out upon the world and see the unexplorable riches of the love of God. God's love and God's law stand together, to be tested alike by His revelation in the face of Jesus Christ.

It was obviously the intention of the men who wrote the Bible to show that this code was more important than all other codes, these ten words more binding than any others man had ever heard. The elaborate preparations for keeping the original script show that. Generally, it was enough for God to speak to Moses, and the memory of Moses was depended upon to transmit the message to the people. But not so here. The ten words were precious. They must not be forgotten. They must be engraven on solid stone, and when the stones were destroyed by Moses because of the idolatry of the people, he was not trusted to write them out again himself: he had to go back up the mountain in order that the proper text might be restored by the hand of God. Everything surrounding the law-giving gives the impression of terror, fear, and awful divinity. All the people were gathered together at the foot of the mountain, and there they waited while elaborate preparations were made against the defiling of the rock on which the king God was to sit in state and declare His will. Heralded by a thunderstorm that shook the mountain to its very base, and hidden by veiling clouds which gave the impression of awful divinity, there came a voice which struck upon the people as the voice of God. With a terrible aloofness and a gigantic impressiveness, striking terror into the hearts of humble folk, the Most High declared His will. A solemn League and Covenant was made between the God of Heaven and a fugitive tribe which was to become the medium of divine salvation and all the religious hopes of man. Great lessons, lessons for all men for time and eternity, were to be given that day. The people had to

learn that at the heart of all national greatness, with its law, its worship, its commerce and its art, there was to be pure religion and pure morality, the worship of the true God and the pursuit of true living. They were to learn that it is sterling moral worth, sanctified by the love of God, which is the soul of a nation's legislation, the breath of its nostrils, the marrow of its bones. Anything which makes that clear, which strikes it home to the conscience of a whole community, which has the power of moulding a national life, and of making a motley crew into a religious people : whatever can do all that is divine, solemn, terrible. The writers of the Bible knew that these laws were from God, and so much from God that the people would not accept them until their obedience was forced by God. It is all that, that is really meant by the thunder and the lightning and the tablets of stone. In this instance, at any rate, the symbolism of history is more significant than the fact. Divinity surrounds the giving of these laws : the religious feeling of humanity recognises that.

The Decalogue has a background of religious faith and training. The commands do not stand in mid air. They are regarded, from first to last, as the commands of a revealed God to a holy people. To the Hebrews, duty was essentially religious. Every kind of sin had a divine reference : it was sin against a holy God. Righteousness was walking in His ways. Every act of the life, every thought of the heart, was looked upon as open to His eyes. Yahweh was not an indefinite power which made for righteousness, but a living God able to come into the experiences of men and deal with them. The first thing in Old Testament religion is God's authority. The commands are expressed in a way that shows quite clearly that God is recognised as the ultimate authority over the conduct of men. They are therefore part of His revealing. They are one of the

ways in which He has shown Himself to men. They can never be gone back upon. We may grow beyond them, but we shall never grow out of them or away from them. It will always be sin to break them.

They show that God is recognised as the absolute authority over the whole life of man. That every son of Israel looked upon these laws as binding is a fact which the whole of their religious history forces upon our notice. The very fact that the moral sanction for the commands is fear proves that to be so. Humanity has been trained in the virtues by a due respect for constituted authority. To obey the law through love for the law-giver certainly shows a higher level of moral outlook, but that is possible only when the conscience has been trained in the art of recognising love. The Israelites through a great part of their career were in much the same position as children. If they were to be reduced to order, they had to be trained in the fear of God. They had to learn that the anger of love was a very terrible thing.

But apart from that, whether they kept these laws through fear or whether they kept them through love, they kept them, and they never dreamed of regarding them as being given for any other purpose than that of being kept. They knew that God spoke with the intention of being obeyed and they dared not gainsay Him. There are some people, however, who seem to think it is not a very terrible thing if they do not obey these rules. They know very well that they express truth. They know very well that the health of society depends upon them being kept. It is not exaggeration to say that if it were once regarded as allowable for men and women to murder, steal and commit adultery, society would soon go to pieces and we should return to the savagery from which we sprang. Whatever may be said for the private life of the individual, and whatever

may be said for the community in a thousand years' time, when we shall probably be nearer God than we are to-day, at the present time it is good for us all that there is a God who says "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," and who moreover intends to be obeyed. A good many people never keep the commandments: what they do is to spend their time in manufacturing easy methods by which they can dodge them. God is always the same. He expected obedience years ago. He expects it now. "If ye love me, keep my commandments," says Jesus. God is not like a man: He does not grow weaker as He grows older, and you can't wear out His determination by opposition. He does not expect us to cry over spilt milk. What He does expect is that we shall look after the milk so well that we shall not run the risk of spilling it. When we break the commandments, He forgives if we are truly repentant. But He expects more than that from us. He expects us not to run the risk of having to be repentant. God gave these laws to men for them to be kept, and He knew quite well that it was possible to keep them.

To say all that is, of course, to run the danger of a very speedy retort. Two questions arise immediately for answer. The first is obvious. If these commandments were not given by God to Moses on the top of a mountain, how can we speak of them as the expression of His will? Like most obvious questions, it shows a lack of imagination. We know the will of God in more ways than one. History is one way to the knowledge of it, because history shows clearly that murder, lying, idolatry, adultery and all the other vices are fated to destroy the people who adopt them. There is a logic about history which is unescapable. Then, again, conscience is on the side of the commandments, as are also the best minds and the best literature. It is legitimate to look, in all those different places, for evidences

of the will of God. If there be a God, He must be a God of action, a God of redemption. We learn what He is from what He does. When the individual or the nation grows old enough to look back over life dispassionately and count the steps of progress, when the sorrows have been compared with the joys and the successes with the defeats, several things become clear. We can see the finger of God here, we can track His way there, we can see the shadow of His moving there, and then, when the mists have rolled away, we can see that all along it has been God who has directed our feet. We find the meaning of God by the sheer facts of history. We see that in Israel. What we see in the Old Testament is God in action, rewarding nations and men, punishing nations and men, vindicating conscience by showing that it is by their conscience that men are linked to God. That is what makes it of such supreme value to this age. It is the record of divine acts. It shows the processes of a divine education. It shows how sin always comes home to roost and how virtue always gains its reward. It shows that the moral ideal is not to be found by speculation. It has to be found by the movements of God in history, in His acts for men and against men and His speech with men. We do not start our moral life with our heads in the clouds. We find a firm footing and air to breathe in a nation's history which proves for all time the nature and the power of the ever-living God.

The second question is more serious. It is this. We are living in the Christian era, and the gift of it to us is freedom. There are some who assert that to encumber the life of men by the duty of carrying out definite commandments is to ruin its independence and thereby to cripple its power of growth. They are quite willing to recognise that the Decalogue had a very real part to play in the education of the race, but they claim that it has

had its day. We are born into the freedom of the Spirit. Some of them claim that no external commandments of any kind whatsoever ought to have any place in our life; they object to the commands "Do this," and "Abstain from that," and they exhort us to lay upon ourselves our own commands and realise our rational self.

This all sounds very plausible, but it is impossible for us to believe it for several reasons. The first is that it has not sufficient grip to act as a motive power in the lives of ordinary men and women. Faith in a revealed God is the heritage into which the Jews of old and the Christians of to-day are alike born. The religious man's moral creed is infinitely fuller and richer than that of the agnostic can possibly be. For the agnostic, there is no command except that which His own conscience makes, and there is no help he can draw upon except that given him by his environment and his own will. But the moral creed of the Christian is that of the home. It is the childlike obedience of a son who knows his father's mind, and who knows moreover that behind his own weak endeavours to carry out his father's will, there is the power and help and sympathetic encouragement of the father who loves and understands. To cut the commandments out of our life is *ipso facto* to cut God out of it.

The second reason is that the objection is based upon a view of Christianity which is not Biblical, to say the very least. There has always been too much arguing in Christian circles over the processes of salvation. Which has to come first, sanctification or regeneration? How are we saved, by faith or by works? If we had kept loyal to the New Testament and to the spirit of Jesus, we should have been spared such foolish discussion. It is the result in character that matters; the process is not very important. The Bible, anyhow, makes conversion and holiness

go together. Everything depends upon believing in Christ, but belief sweeps through the whole of life. It has always seemed inexplicable to those who have treated the New Testament in a mechanical fashion and forgotten that it throbs with life, that Jesus should say that to keep the commandments was to fulfil the conditions of entering into life. The man who asked Jesus the conditions of everlasting life probably expected that, if he did some great thing that other people could not do, he would receive some great blessing that they could not receive. He must have been surprised to hear that all he had to do was to keep the Ten Commandments which had been addressed to all the sons of Israel alike. It shows us that the way into life is perfectly simple, so that he who runs may read. It also teaches us that keeping the commandments entails far more than we generally expect. When we are told to keep the commandments, what is meant is more than a chance obedience, more even than a deliberate obedience; it means a habit and rule of life. The truly honest man is the man who has ceased to think about being honest. Honesty has so become part of him that dishonesty has been made impossible. The really truthful man tells the truth by instinct. And the man who keeps the commandments properly does so because they never enter into his head. His whole attitude to life has made disobedience impossible. Also keeping the commandments means doing more than they actually prescribe. What is required is a conformity of will: the whole bent of the personality has gone in the direction of the law as a sacred trust. The rock bottom of the Decalogue is love for God, love with heart and mind and strength. Fellowship with God implies harmony with His revealed will. The ten commandments are not a string of arbitrary commandments, binding just because they are in the Bible. They would be binding

even if we had never heard of the Bible, even if there were no Bible. They are the reflection of God's innermost nature. It is through obedience to revealed law that we gain the knowledge of revealing love.

The third reason is that the objection is the expression of the worst possible form of subjectivism. It might have been understandable in the days when men believed that the mind of the newly born child was an absolute blank. It is much less understandable in these days of psychology and sociology. A child inherits the fruits, good and bad, of the struggling of its long parentage. By sharing in the fortunes of the race, he enters with a start in the battle of life. This heritage has been gradually made through the centuries in the disciplining of the race at the hand of God. The child develops into manhood by its contact with the outside world, by constantly meeting and attempting to understand its happenings. The conscience, just the same as the body and the intellect, needs for its perfect growth the inducements and encouragements of external stimuli. Every child is born with a free conscience: the task of the parent and the teacher is to train that free conscience so that it becomes a right conscience, in order that the child may not only choose, but shall also choose right. Ingrained in the mind of the race, part of the stimuli which act upon it, is the Decalogue. We can obey it or refuse to obey it: certainly we cannot escape it. God would be a strange being if He did not give men a moral education. The conscience is trained by the fellowship of man with God, and the conscience of the individual is, to some extent, the child of the racial conscience. It is the findings of the individual which increase the power of the race, but it is the findings of the race which give the individual his power to search. We have to be very sure of our ground before we put our own view before the racial

instinct. God has been dealing with us a very short time: He has been dealing with the race for centuries of centuries. The conscience of humanity commands these laws, and in that sense its voice is God's voice. Conscience tells us not only to obey ideals: it tells us to obey facts, God's facts. Our conscience is the child of the conscience of the community, which is the child of God. It is no product of ourselves. It is the product of a Spirit above us and beyond us. God is master of our moral life. A God who did not train the life of men by setting them tasks to fulfil and ideals to realise would be a God whom we could neither know nor worship.

The most striking thing about the Ten Commandments is the way they declare the authority of God, supreme, solitary, absolute. Religion and morality are both put on a very high plane, and God is made the central and controlling factor everywhere. There is an uncompromising prohibition of the worship of any other deity than Jehovah, and that is going a long way with a people who, throughout a long history in Palestine, were surrounded by polytheists. The prohibition of idolatry puts worship in the heavenly places, where it cannot be contaminated by the things of earth. God is to be the authority over the heart, the intellect, the conduct, the worship, of men. Here is the soul of religion and the soul of morality. There is no separation between them. In antiquity, church and state were one. God was King. The priest was a magistrate. Worship and life were not distinct. Politics were part of religion. God was supreme over the nation and its affairs. Justice, mercy, chastity were part of the good estate of the people of God. Here is the recognition that the power of law, where there is no knowledge of the authority of the lawgiver, is doomed to fail. Israel needed to be taught that lesson. We need to be taught the same lesson. We

do not live in the days of theocracies. We pride ourselves on our possession of freedom. We are democrats. We elect our lawgivers ourselves. If we do not like them, we dismiss them, and the laws made by one government can be unmade by the next. Democracy is an ideal method of government in a community which is both intelligent and moral. Otherwise, it is hopeless. What we are facing in the world to-day is whole communities gone mad. Liberty has degenerated into licence. Law has come down to the level of political squabblings, and its divinity has gone. The Israelite found God in the heavens. He found God in history. He found God in the voice which said, "Thou shalt not" in his innermost soul. We live under the same heavens, but they have ceased to speak to us of God. We live at the very climax of history, but we have failed to track God's movements, and the mastery of them does not hush us into reverence and fill our hearts with a spirit of praise. We profess to listen to the voice of conscience, but when we disobey it we have forgotten that we have disobeyed the authentic utterance of God. For many people to-day, God is a mere nonentity. If He were proved not to rule over the world at all, it would make no difference to them. They would not realise that the heavens had been blotted out. And if it were proved that He did rule, it would make little difference to them. They would still go on worshipping their old gods of power and money. The horrible fact faces us in this up-to-date world of ours that millions of people do not care two straws whether there is or is not a God at all.

These laws were given thousands of years ago, beaten out in the experience of the race, fashioned by the travail which Israel endured. With them God has been endeavouring to train us, to show us the grandeur of goodness and the heinousness of sin. He knows, as we do not, that as

we follow them, we live and prosper and our days are long upon the earth, and that, as we deny them, we fade and perish and decay. As long as sun and moon endure He will labour by these laws to bring us to the true life for which He made us.

H. J. Flowers.

THE SECRET EXPERIENCES OF THE PROPHETS.[1]

1. The title of this essay expresses, and is meant to express, the view, that the prophets *have* a secret, that they had certain inward experiences which cannot be understood by the uninitiated observer. And we may add at once that it is just the older and the greater among them who have kept this secret. Either because of a reverent restraint, or because their interest lay not in the form but in the matter of their message, or because early Israel was not accustomed to compare and distinguish the experiences of the soul, they shrouded their inward life as with a veil. If we now devote a special essay to this subject, as a preliminary to the detailed exposition of the prophetic writings, we express thereby our conviction that these strange men must ultimately remain unintelligible to us useless we understand these secret experiences.

2. It is not so very long since this subject began to be treated in this spirit. Orthodoxy, seeing in the prophets the mere mechanical instruments of a simply supernatural revelation, gave little heed to their personalities and their peculiar experiences. The "rationalistic" view which came next, and which is not yet quite extinct in theological science, was too dry and blunt to see in the prophets more than pious teachers and respectable preachers. But in

[1] By Professor Hermann Gunkel, being the second of three introductory essays in Professor Hans Schmidt's *Die Grossen Propheten*, Göttingen, 1923.

more recent times the way for a better understanding of their personalities has been prepared by four different scientific movements. The historical view, which became increasingly prominent in the nineteenth century, and which has been supplemented by a " neo-romantic " movement with its subtle power of seeing new shades and hearing new notes, has shown a deep understanding for the long-concealed inner life of these men. Special mention should be made here of Duhm's *Commentary on Isaiah*. The study of Comparative Religion also has gained in breadth and depth and has put an end to the naïve assumption that the prophets of the Old Testament are a thing unique, and has supplied abundant and valuable parallels to prophecy, especially in its lower grades. Then the study of the literary history of the Old Testament has added important contributions to our knowledge of the prophets ; for although this field of study deals mainly with the forms of prophetic speech, these very forms of speech indirectly reveal the inner life of which they are the expression. Finally, Psychology has taken up this subject, and is beginning to set forth with the exact methods of science what up till now has been reached more by direct intuition. Needless to say, in spite of all these efforts, there is much that still remains obscure, and on not a few points there are still differences of opinion among scholars.

3. When we of the present day speak of " the prophets," we mean chiefly those among them who exerted the strongest influence on the religious thought of Israel, and whose influence still lives for us in their writings. And indeed these writing prophets—for us the first is Amos, and their other main representatives are men like Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel—overtop all the others so greatly, that this use of the word is perfectly justified. It is to be our task in this essay to describe the inner life of these

men. But this great intellectual movement—for such it was—had forerunners in other men who were called by their people by the same name, prophets (*nebiim*), and who were really more or less akin to the greater men, and especially in the case of Elijah, very closely resembled them. These "prophets" cannot be altogether omitted from our review, because they exhibit, though perhaps in plainer, more arresting forms, the same peculiar experiences.

4. The fundamental experience of all types of prophecy is "ecstasy." That is a state of consciousness entirely outside the experience of the ordinary man of to-day, and not easily intelligible to him. In trying to describe it, it will be best to begin with the *external actions and symptoms* of this phenomenon in the prophets. In the old story of Saul's first meeting with Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 1–x. 16), we read of Saul meeting a band of prophets coming from a "highplace" on a march through the land. All kinds of music accompanied them. They themselves were in the condition of a Nabi, i.e., they were in "ecstasy" (Hebrew, hithnabbe', 1 Sam. x. 5). It is plain from this that these "prophets" lived in communal life, and we know from other sources that there were in Israel schools or guilds of prophets, whose members, called "sons of the prophets," were under the oversight of a man who bore the title of "father" (2 Kings vi. 21; viii. 9; xiii. 14). Elijah was a "father" of this kind. The fact that such prophecy called for communal life proves that the prophetic state of consciousness must in its nature have been something that passed automatically from one person to another. In the same story we read that the spirit "passed" from the band of prophets upon Saul (1 Sam. x. 6, 10). Similarly in the very vivid story of David's flight to Samuel, the officers whom Saul sends to take David come upon a company of prophets who are at the moment in a state of

ecstasy (nibba'), and themselves fall under its influence. Even the king himself, who ultimately goes on the same quest, is likewise overpowered (1 Sam. xix. 18). It is only the greatest prophets who do not find it necessary to draw new strength from such gatherings ; they stand alone. To that class belonged Elijah in the old time and the prophets from Amos onwards. The fact that Amos expressly disclaims all connexion with the "sons of the prophets" is a plain indication that a new stage has begun (Amos vii. 14).

5. We have further some indication of the causes that brought these guilds together. The prophets who met Saul were coming from a "highplace"—they have been holding a celebration at the sanctuary. That they require a leader also points to such communal action. We have to take it that through these celebrations the spirit of each participant was raised out of its normal condition and made capable of receiving the "spirit." From the same story we learn that music, with its peculiar power to produce excitation, played an important part. Elisha called for music to inspire him (2 Kings iii. 15); and down to the latest times we find prophecy and poetry closely allied.

6. If, therefore, the prophets who met Saul were traversing the country to the accompaniment of such music, we may also take it that, as they went, they performed rhythmic movements, i.e., they were dancing. We obtain a very graphic conception of the prophetic dance from the narrative of the proceedings at Mount Carmel, where the prophets of Baal, before they reach the ecstatic condition, "leap" round the altar crying aloud (1 Kings xviii. 26). There are graphic descriptions of similar proceedings in Greek authors who give an account of Syrian religions, and in the narratives of travellers regarding the present day dervishes of the East. Such physical movements, combined with extreme mental excitation, we must conceive

as at first voluntary and conscious. Gradually, when the "spirit" comes, they become convulsive and ultimately unconscious. The Elijah narrative itself looks down with contempt on the dances of the prophets of Baal. The literary prophets are completely free from anything of that kind.

7. In the case of Amos and his successors, there is no mention even of fasting, which is universally looked upon as a means of preparing for the reception of revelation. It is recorded of Moses (Exod. xxxiv. 28), and it plays a great part later among the Apocalyptics (Dan. ix. 3, 21; Ezra v. 20; vi. 35; Apoc. Bar. ix. 2), and also in the early Christian circles (Matt. iv. 2; Luke iv. 2). But there is one kind of preparation known even to the greatest prophets. They compare themselves to a man who ascends his watchtower in order to *gaze* into the distance (Hab. ii. 1). The vision comes from God, but the *gazing* is the part of the prophet. Or to change the figure, there is in the prophet something like a second self, a double, whom he can set to gaze (Isa. xxi. 6). The prophet is able to suspend all other impressions and to devote himself entirely to that for which he is looking—a mental attitude which necessarily involves excitation, and, if it last any length of time, nervous prostration (Isa. xxi. 7). For such inward preparation the prophet may seek the solitude of the mountains—Elijah (2 Kings i. 9). Elisha (2 Kings iv. 23) occasionally dwelt on Mount Carmel. Ezekiel in Babylon went out into the open field (Ezek. iii. 22; xxxvii. 1). We meet with the same practice later among the Apocalyptics (Ezra ix. 26; xii. 40; Apoc. Bar. xxi. 1; xxxi. 2). John the Baptist dwelt in the desert (Matt. iii. 1), and Moses (Exod. iii. 1) and Elijah (1 Kings xix. 4) and Jesus went up into a mountain (Matt. xiv. 23). Amid the silence of nature, far from the noise of men, the inner life comes to its own.

The prophet finds it easier to listen inwardly and to receive the secret of God. The prophets were fond also of sitting beside running water, which with its rhythmic babbling sound exercises on the mind a peculiarly hypnotic influence (Dan. x. 4; Enoch xiii. 7; Apoc. Bar. v. 5; Ezek. i. 1; x. 20). And, repeatedly, we read that it was in the darkness of the night that the prophet saw his visions and heard the voices (Zech. *passim*, also 1 Sam. iii.; Job iv. 12; xxxiii. 14; Num. xxii. 8). Such solitude with God is specially sought by the prophet when some difficult question is in his mind. Habakkuk tells how he went up into his tower in order to hear "*what He shall answer to my complaint*" (Hab. ii. 1). Very instructive in this connexion are the words of the Apocalyptic to his spirit (4 Esdras iii. 1). "Thou hast obtained for me this vision, because thou art pondering the ways of the Divine," i.e., he has been vouchsafed the revelation, because he has been striving with all his power in fear and deep dread to learn the ways of God. Of course it is natural that the prophet should pour out all his fear to God in prayer, until the inner tension is relieved by a revelation. Of such prayers, preceding a divine revelation, we hear with special frequency in the case of that prophet whose inner life we know best—Jeremiah xi. 18; xii. 1; xiv. 1; xiii.; xvii.; xv. 10; xxxii. 16. When the people put to him a question for which he had no immediate answer, he asked for time to pray and wait for an answer, and he was able to give an answer after ten days (Jer. xlii.). It is not at every moment that the prophet is ready with the word of God. On one occasion Jeremiah brought upon himself a defeat before the people, because he was dumb at the words of the "lying prophet" and could only answer after a time (Jer. xxviii.). But the revelation might also come to the prophet without any preparation at all, quite suddenly, in the midst of a crowd.

While Elisha is sitting amongst the elders of Samaria, he suddenly hears the footsteps of the king who is coming to kill him (2 Kings vi. 32). Ezekiel also (viii. 1) receives a vision while he is in the midst of the elders.

8. We come closer to the peculiar secret of the prophets when we inquire into the kind of *actions* in which the ecstasy finds outward expression. These were mainly certain convulsive movements. When Elijah had overcome the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel and called down by prayer the drenching rain after two years' drought, *the hand of Jahveh came upon him*; he girded up his loins and ran before the king's chariot amid the storm from Mount Carmel to Jezreel (1 Kings xviii. 46). When we think of the uselessness of such an act, and the more than human strength it involved, we see how the mysterious power comes suddenly upon the prophet urging, nay forcing him to strange action, a power in which he himself can see nothing but *Jahveh's hand*. Comparable with this, if not quite so violent, is the pilgrimage of Ezekiel from the place where he received his first revelation to his compatriots in Tel-Abib; "*the spirit lifted me up and carried me, and I went in the glow of my heart, and Jahveh's hand lay heavy upon me*" (Ezek. iii. 14). According to these words, Ezekiel in his ecstasy has a peculiarly mixed sensation—he feels himself at once carried and under a heavy weight. But strange pilgrimages of this kind may come upon the prophet without his will or knowledge. Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 12) undertakes to meet King Ahab at a certain place. He receives the answer, "*But how, if Jahveh's spirit seize thee and carry thee, who knows where?*" (1 Kings xviii. 12). And the prophet can even come to harm in this way. When Elijah was translated to heaven, the story tells how the sons of the prophets searched for him on the mountains and in the ravines, to see whether Jahveh's spirit had not taken

him away and *thrown* him somewhere (2 Kings ii. 16). Calmer and more gentle must have been the personality of a man like Jeremiah, but even he compares himself to a drunken man, whom wine has overpowered. "*All his bones stagger*" (Jer. xxiii. 9). This comparison of a man who is filled with the spirit to a drunken man recurs in the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 13), although it appears there as a malicious misunderstanding. And the unknown author of Isaiah xxi. 1–10 describes how he was thrown into convulsions by an overpowering revelation, so that he loses the power to see or hear. It is like this, beyond all measure passionate, that we have to conceive the behaviour of many of the prophets in the presence of the people. Ezekiel stamps on the ground while he speaks (vi. 11 ; xxi. 19), striking his sides with his hands or striking his hands together.

9. The strange actions thus done under the influence of the spirit are very numerous. Self-mutilation in ecstasy is mentioned in the Elijah story as a peculiarity of the prophets of Baal, but it cannot have been rare amongst Jahveh's prophets also (Zech. xiii. 6). In Israel also the earliest prophets rent their clothes from their bodies (1 Sam. xix. 24), a frequently mentioned indication of extreme excitation. Even Isaiah imitated these wild ecstatics and went about at times "naked" (Isa. xx.). Or a prophet comes forth wearing horns of iron (1 Kings xxii. 11) or with a yoke on his neck (Jer. xxvii.) : or he smashes an earthen vessel (Jer. xix.) or sinks a linen girdle in a river (Jer. xiii. 1). Ezekiel tells of himself things even stranger. He laid siege to a stone with an iron pot (iv. 1), and on another occasion he tied all his belongings on his back and forced his way through a hole in the wall into his own house (chap. xii.). He even prepared a nauseous cake with all manner of fruits and baked it over human excrement (iv. 9). And

we must include it amongst these strange actions, striking and even repellent to the people of the time, when Hosea married a harlot. Such acts must originally have been purely convulsive. At a more highly developed stage, prophecy liked to regard them as signs or symbols, and to give them an allegorical meaning. Ezekiel's stone represented Jerusalem, and the frying-pan was the Chaldean army. Hosea in his strange marriage depicted the unquenchable love of God for his adulterous land. In such allegorising we have the result of conscious reflection by the prophets on the meaning and purpose of their actions: and the strange element in the case of the literary prophets may occasionally have been merely an imitation of the old ecstatics and may find its explanation in their desire to arrest the attention of the people. In other cases, e.g., Ezekiel's cake, a vague impulse may have been at work. The desire for such food is a well-known phenomenon in cases of nervous or mental disease. In any case, it helps us to understand how hostile opinion in Israel placed the prophets on a level with madmen (2 Kings ix. 11, etc.): how the mental malady of Saul is described by the same word (hithnabbe'), which is elsewhere used for the prophets (1 Sam. xviii. 10); and how the "prophets" were treated in the temple of Jerusalem is shown by the letter of Semaiah (Jer. xxix. 24), who writes to the priests, that he has been appointed to the oversight of all the *madmen and prophets* in the temple, in order to put them in the stocks if they are guilty of disorder.

10. It is in a similar manner that we have to conceive the *mode of speech* employed by the prophets. The current word for this is qārā', to shout or cry. Prophets do not speak in a calm restrained manner. It was with loud cries that the prophets of Baal danced round the altar, but also an Isaiah speaks with voice loudly raised; may heaven

and earth hear it, and the hills around bear witness. Another word, used occasionally, hittif, means originally to slaver, to drop the spittle, and the word means the spittle which exuded from the prophet's mouth as he spoke. At times, too, we hear of the prophets *muttering mysteriously*, when they announce secret oracles, and their speech was mocked by enemies as being stammering and stuttering—a jibe which cannot have been without basis in the reality. Even in the literary prophets we find certain mysterious words and combinations of words which help us to imagine what the strange cryings of the oldest ecstatics must have been—Jezreel, Lo-ammi, Lo-ruhama, Immanuel, Shear-jashub, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, Rahab-hammoshbath. The prophet of the earliest times, and not only he, is so full to overflowing with excitation as he speaks, that he can only stutter. To get an idea of the passion of such stammered prophetic words, one need only read such a passage as Ezekiel xxi. 26, "*Away with the mitre: down with the crown! This is not this. Up with the low; down with the high! Overturn, overturn, overturn it will I. This too shall not abide, till he come, whose right it is, and to him do I give it.*" It accords with such a condition of excitation that the prophet's words, as soon as they pass from stuttering to actual language, automatically take metrical form. Sometimes too the prophets sang (Isa. v. 1), and the word hithnabbe', to come forth as prophet, is used of an inspired minstrel (1 Chron. xxv. 1). In our prophetic books, of course, we have numerous passages, which must have been delivered with far less passion.

11. Lastly, it can also happen, that the prophet loses the use of his limbs for a longer or shorter time. Ezekiel tells (iv. 8) of a condition lasting a month in which he felt as if he had been bound with ropes, so that he was unable to turn from one side to the other. Such a condition came

on most frequently at the close of a revelation. After that strange walk, already referred to, Ezekiel sat dumb amongst the people of Tel-Abib for seven days, great though his desire had previously been to preach. The Apocalyptics are specially given to describing such disablements during or after revelation. This condition of the *nebiim* must therefore have at times been so terribly exhausting as to lead to complete collapse. Some of these phenomena might seem to us cases of nervous or mental derangement, but we should remember that our Psychiatry has till now been exclusively occupied with the psychic life of civilised people of the present day, and that different criteria must be used for these passionate children of the hot East.

HERMANN GUNKEL.

(*To be continued.*)

THE TEMPTATIONS OF JESUS CHRIST—WERE THEY TRANCE OR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES?

THE records of the life of Jesus Christ, for the period before He entered upon His public work, are too few that we could not welcome an addition to them; and too precious, for what light they offer on Him, that any one of them should be allowed to become myth-like through a means of explanation which is, in reality, an explaining away of the narrative; and by so much, a turning of history and the historical Person into the substance of a tale which might have been told. The narrative of the Temptations, with its quick précis-wise form, is perhaps that part of the early life of Jesus which invites that order of treatment. Just as in the Letter to the Hebrews, where the writer tells us "He was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin," the theological idea of sinlessness has sometimes made the figure of the historical Christ of a sufficient tenuity to be little

other than an animate theological doctrine ; so also has the account of the Lord's Temptations become of a gossamer quality which could enmesh the strange visitants of thought that a lonely life might know, or the dream-like impressions that are said to come to a mystic as he explores the heights and depths of his own inner life. Two modern theories of the personality of Jesus have contributed much to those effects. One of them makes Jesus to be an *Ecstatic*—that is, a being who, it is said, rises to moments of envisioned lucidity or grandeur, which have their reflexes in heightened life, by his sensibility unto rhythm, or lyric movement within from sense impressions without ; or by the " one music " and all the faculties of his personality. The other of those theories makes Jesus to be a *Cataleptic*—that is, a being who attains unusual states akin to sleep in which, it is alleged, the processes of contemplation go on ; or is one who is a more thorough Ecstatic. With the first theory, a man would come to the fringes, and a little way over the frontiers, of the psychical world ; with the second theory, he would reach the heart of that world—at least, so the adepts tell us. An admixture of these two theories, for the explanation of Jesus Christ, has been revived for us by the late Edward Carus Selwyn in his book, *First Christian Ideas* (1919). The fifth chapter of that book is given up to proving that " the Temptation-narratives cannot be explained on any supposition but that the three scenes were visions in trance." He lays down the following bases for his argument : 1. That *ἐξέστη* in Mark iii. 21 means that Jesus was subject to trance. 2. That on the Emmaus walk He was called " a man and a prophet " ; therefore, He was subject to trance like the other prophets of Israel. 3. The conditions, which in the New Testament predispose to trance are fasting, prayer and the study of Scripture. 4. The presence of notes of trance in the narrative of the

Temptations is found in such a statement as: "Jesus was led by the Spirit." 5. Jesus refers to His habit of trance in His words to Nicodemus: "We testify that we have seen."

We must take these positions in turn. 1. Selwyn misses the point of the Markan statement, which is that it is made by Palestinian folk who did not understand Him, and who use their native idiom in referring to Him. Moreover, the rendering of this verse in the Codex Bezæ, which, if it be disputed as a reading, is good as a very early comment, must be considered: *ἐξέσταται αὐτούς* or exentiat eos. It would be out of the question to render that phrase "he tranced them." There is no such a psychological phenomenon known as that translation would imply. The plural object of the verb in this Western text simply takes up the meaning that was in the presumed original singular subject of the verb; and that can have no reference to trance conditions. 2. The epithet from the Emmaus incident is brought by Selwyn into line with his view that trance was the prevalent mode among Jewish folk who were said to prophesy. It is one thing to recognise that this was a practice in the first century, and quite another to state that then the practice was most common. There are certain psychological *appendiculæ* in Paul which are to be reckoned with if the man is to be known; but they make a Paul who is not in the first century if they are used to interpret the whole man and his message. The Damascus experience is surely misunderstood as trance; whilst the reference in 2 Corinthians v. 13: *εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν*—even if it should be thought right to translate it as Selwyn does, "whether we are in the ecstatic state (it is to God), or in the normal, it is for your sake"—cannot explain the ways of Paul, as Christ's messenger, as being alternations between an abnormal and a normal condition of sight and speech. This view is not only unhistorical; it is as well a subtle

impugning of the revelation of Jesus Christ. That revelation was not brought to men, nor transmitted to men after that Jesus had risen from the dead, by cataleptic means. We are not saved through catalepsy ; whether it is Paul on the road to Damascus, or Dale in his study awaking to the truth : " Jesus Christ is alive " ; and very certainly not, if it is the ordinary man or woman among us who experiences redemption. Nor was the first community of Christ's disciples a proto-Irvingite church. Paul's warning to the Corinthians concerning their indulgence in quasi-hypnotic practices ought to keep our imaginations from rendering the first century in the terms of those practices. 3. Prayer and fasting are aids unto trance as some experiences, for instance, in the *Historia Lausiaca* of Palladius, manifest. It is said of Jesus that He fasted forty days. But such rigour need not lead to hallucination or partial hypnoses, as modern experiments have proved. And the Saying of Jesus that appears to be used by Selwyn, when he writes of " fasting and prayer," has yet to have its final form settled from the Oxyrhynchian Saying that enlarges the first of those terms to " fasting to the world "—a reading that has versimilitude from the epithets levelled at Jesus, " gluttonous and winebibber," which do not support the notion that He taught an ascetic fasting. Further, His teaching concerning prayer would not contradict His own practice. Jesus teaches His disciples to pray in a manner which would simplify and steady both their ideas and feelings (cf. Matt. vi.), and which would be against the production of any condition approaching trance ; for He denies to them even the hallucination that can come from the repetition of formulæ (vi. 7). A cataleptic would not thus cast out catalepsy from His followers. The examples of the prayers of Jesus which are in the Gospels remove finally all support from the opinion that at any time He prayed in a manner to induce unusual psychical

states in Himself. Selwyn says that there was a third way of passing into trance, and that was by the study of Scripture. This is a view that is almost peculiarly his own. It can be illustrated from Selwyn's treatment of the Temptations narrative. He assumes that fasting and prayer had produced the accessibility to trance in Jesus. He is brooding over His mission. The material of vision, then, for Him when He is passing, or has passed, into the condition of receiving the vision is His knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures. Therein He would make strange, vision-like Midrash on known passages from those writings. Thus, in the "first vision," Zechariah iii. 1 lends to the entranced Christ the figure of Satan; Deuteronomy viii. the bread; Psalm ii. the view that He was to be a second Joshua, the successor of Moses. In the "second trance," Jesus passed to another old and revered Jewish figure, David. Selwyn's view appears to be that it would be natural for Jesus to dwell on the gallery of Old Testament heroes. Here Psalm xci. 1 and Deuteronomy vi. are said to be the stuff of vision. Selwyn goes so far as to imagine the sort of inner converse that Jesus engages in whilst in the "second trance": "I am pledged to observe His unalterable law and to proclaim it. Miracle shall not invade or violate the uniformity of nature's laws, which the angels guard." The conversation seems to be too wide-awake and twentieth century that even an entranced Jesus Christ should have spoken it. The third vision is caused by a return of Moses to the stage of the trance, this time as the meek man. Psalm ii. 8 and Deuteronomy vi. are the texts of this interpretation in dream—Psalm ii. provides as well the mountain scenery. "As to the stupendous miracle wrought," says Selwyn, by Satan, "all the world in a moment of time" (Luke), it disappears when, and only when, it is regarded as a trance vision, superior to conditions of time and space. Luke does

not even mention a mountain ; he knew that, for the seer, the ascent of a mountain was immaterial." Whether Satan was actual for Selwyn is a question difficult to answer ; for in the " first trance " he is so insubstantial as to be created from a passage in Zechariah ; but the miracle-worker in the " third trance " seems to have a thickness unnatural to a trance figure. The writer, perhaps, had some difficulty in keeping his figures to the desired thinness. Selwyn's theology does incline to give substance where his theory should demand only " the insubstantial fabric of a dream." The process of Midrash by trance, which is the central motive of his view of the Temptations narrative, is said by him to have been the common practice of the first century. For instance, he comments later on Ephesians iv. 11, " He made some apostles, some prophets, some gospellers, some shepherds and teachers." His comment is instructive why he has interpreted the narrative of the Temptations in the above manner, and why he has such erroneous views of first-century religious life. He says (p. 223 f.) : " One might ask whether it is implied (i.e. in Eph. iv. 11) that there are four orders, of which the gospellers are distinct from the shepherds and teachers. Rather we have here a description of functions. Gospellers were missionary teachers. A teacher naturally constructs a syllabus, on which he and the gospellers must work. This would be their Gospel. But gospellers were not, like apostles, ecstatic, while their experience would sometimes enrich the material of the teachers. Thus we should have two pairs of classes :

	Ecstatic.	Non-Ecstatic.
Itinerating ;	*Apostles.*	*Gospellers.*
Stationary ;	*Prophets.*	*Teachers.*"

His view of the first century is as surprising as his view of the Temptations. The two views give the impression

that their author was determined to square everyone and everything to a theory which cannot be said to have warrant from history. Concerning his tabular view of first century forms of ministry, it may be well to test it against the *Didaché*, which is our chief first-century authority on the question. The neat differences made by Selwyn between those who stay and those who go do not hold good—compare *Didaché* xi. 7 ff. and Funk's comment; and the function of teaching is as much the prophet's work as it is that of the apostle. But there are minor matters beside to question whether the prophet speaks in trance or not. What is meant by the phrase the "prophet speaking *ἐν πνεύματι*" (*Did.* xi. 7). We may note that neither prayer nor fasting are spoken of which were instrumental in inducing conditions preparative to prophetic trance. The directions concerning both these subjects in the *Didaché* are simple and sane, and have to do with the ordinary person as well as the prophet. His insignia is to possess "the manners of the Lord" (xi. 8); and no commentator would affirm that the phrase *τοὺς τρόπους* included the disposition to entrancement. The general opinion of scholars on the phrase, *ἐν πνεύματι*, that remains to be explained, howsoever we may view the preceding matters, is that it means "in a state of trance"; and this opinion is held where the phrase occurs in the New Testament. Funk, for instance, when he writes on the *Didaché* phrase, calls attention to Apocalypse xvii. 3, and Hermas, *Similitude* ix. i. 4, among other parallels either from the New Testament or early Christian literature. Now Apocalypse xvii. 3 is a very appropriate parallel for this study on the narrative of the Temptations, and for our search for an answer to the question whether Jesus saw what is recorded there in trance. The Apocalyptist writes: "and he carried me away into a desert, *ἐν πνεύματι*."[1] Another instance from this same

[1] Nestle, e.g., *ad loc.*: capitalises the second word wrongly.

writing comes with equal appropriateness, Apocalypse xxi. 10, "and he carried me *ἐν πνεύματι* to a great lofty mountain, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem." To suppose that in these instances the Apocalyptist writes in any other condition than in the normal manner of a writer, or that he is recording experiences of the transporting of himself in trance to either desert or mountain, is to ignore some most essential considerations. The poet's eye rolling in a fine frenzy happens in a line of poetry; his eye does not do that in the struggles of composition; but the poem is produced in which he may take us and himself to any place of which he has had intellectual or emotional experience. The Apocalyptist knows the desert, the mountain and the city. To write of these, it will not be necessary for him to have gone through or to go through the queer physical and psychical attitudes of trance or semi-trance. When he sees or writes *ἐν πνεύματι* he is simply in that condition of heightened thought and feeling which issues in *apocalyptic* style. The prophet, in like fashion, when he speaks *ἐν πνεύματι*, he *speaks apocalyptically*.[1] Funk's Hermas parallel is instructive on the points we have raised—namely, the previous intellectual or emotional experience of site, and the writing or speaking apocalyptically when the time and the impulse of heightened feeling come. In *Similitude* ix. i. 4 Hermas is "taken into Arcadia, to a mountain of conical shape, and is placed on its top." Now Rendel Harris, in his book *Hermas in Arcadia*, and Armitage Robinson, in his two books of 1888 and 1920, have proved that Hermas was a native of Arcadia and that he describes the mountains about the plain of Orchomenas in his ninth *Similitude*. His apocalypticism, which follows his awakened memories, is as conscious as his knowledge of the hills about his home. He

[1] The phrase in John iv. 23 means something like "reverence." Or is there an article wanted in this verse and in the following one?

is adopting the traditional mode of introducing apocalyptic speech or writing. The Temptations narrative has no tinge of the apocalyptic. In speaking and writing apocalyptically, or *ἐν πνεύματι*, there was then no need to select a passage from Scripture as the nuclear impulse. Just so, in the narrative of the Temptations, the use of Scripture is wide-awake and foreign to the inducement of ecstasy or hypnotic sleep. 4. Selwyn makes the introductory phrase to the Temptations narrative: "led into the desert *ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος*" to be indicative of trance. Such an interpretation would be permissible if the first part of the phrase was an established part of the vocabulary of trance experience; but then it would be yoked to a second part that refers to the divine being, if language is meant to convey meanings. Thus it would be strange at least to find that Jesus uses this designation, at the beginning of His public life, as a term for an abnormal form of ecstasy; and somewhere later in His life as a term to describe His own timeless work and being. 5. The interpretation of the statement made to Nicodemus (John iii. 10), that the verb *ἑωράκαμεν* is used of what is seen in trance, is in keeping with Selwyn's theory, but out of keeping with the Gospel text. That view can terminate only in making Jesus to be *The Cataleptic*. There is no more warrant for finding such a meaning for this verb in the Fourth Gospel than there would be for finding it in 1 John i. 2.

VACHER BURCH.

"BABES IN CHRIST" AND FULL-GROWN MEN.

IN the history of Christian thought there are certain great ideas, facts or principles which have emerged into view, and have been progressively grasped and realised as experiences of the human soul, under the operation of the grace of God. Among these great facts and truths which have been so

realised, especially at and since that great upheaval of the sixteenth century known as the Protestant Reformation, there are three that stand out with especial prominence. Emphasised in the New Testament, they are common-places of Christian theology. First, there is "justification," then "sanctification" (or holiness), and lastly, "perfection"—that is to say, Christian adulthood or maturity. Shall we briefly consider these great thoughts, or rather, *realities* of Christian experience as they have been realised by successive generations in the Church, and then, turning to the New Testament itself, see what it has to tell us, especially in reference to the last two of them—the closely-allied concepts of "sanctification" and of "perfection" or Christian maturity?

The fact is so well known as to be a commonplace that in the earlier ages of Christianity attention was chiefly directed to the objective facts of the existence, character and Providential government of the One true God, and to the Divinity and claims of His only-begotten Son. But in the later ages, that is, in what we may term the "modern" era of Christianity, beginning with the rise of the Protestant Reformation—it is with the more subjective aspects of religion that men's minds have been increasingly occupied. The great problems of our modern Christian thought and experience are those which have to do mainly (though not by any means exclusively) with the *application* of salvation, with its appropriation by man; in other words, with the Christian life in its origin, growth, development and maturity; with the successive stages in the appropriation of Divine grace and of building it into Christian life and character.

Now in order to understand this great movement of modern Christian thought and experience from what is technically termed the *soteriological* point of view, it is

necessary that we visualize it upon the background of that mediæval form of religion which preceded it, and out of which it may be said to have taken its rise. It is impossible to understand Luther and the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation apart from that monasticised, asceticised and legalised religion of the Middle Ages which went before. For it must never be forgotten that Martin Luther had been a monk, and a devout monk, before he broke with the Church of Rome. For this reason, religion as interpreted by Luther bears the closest relation to the monasticism of his day and generation. What then, we inquire, was the practical, working idea of religion as presented to the men of the Middle Age? (Perhaps one ought to consider this question apart from religion in its *mystical* forms of development, which, although profoundly spiritual, were by no means free from pantheistic elements. But at any rate we leave the matter of mediæval mysticism out of our view in the present inquiry).

Religion, then, as it was taught to the people, and as it would seem to have been understood by the generality of them, may fairly be said to have been a second-hand and indirect sort of thing, rather than a matter of direct, personal experience. Religion was thought to have been put to the proof and to have justified itself in the lives of certain holy persons—elect ones, exceptional characters—who were known as "the saints." These were the spiritual aristocracy —perhaps it were better to say, the real Church—within the Church. By their good deeds and sacrifices the "saints" had acquired a great store of "merits," a spiritual capital, which was at the disposal of the hierarchy, and was by them dispensed upon conditions which they themselves prescribed. To have an interest in the prayers and intercessions of the saints made a man fairly sure, as it was thought, of ultimate salvation. After the experience of purgatory, one might

fairly hope to win through to heavenly bliss; but, after all, one could hardly be quite sure as to this matter of personal salvation. It was always conditioned upon obedience, and upon *continued* obedience, to the Church and to her precepts. That is what I meant by saying that, upon such a conception, the Christian life was lived, and Christian experience was realised at *second-hand*. The individual was at best but an appendage, so to speak, to that great and almost omnipotent corporation known as the Church. He was never quite able to say that his soul was his own. His soul belonged to the Church; she was the guardian of his conscience, and for his salvation the Church was responsible. Religion was just a matter of obedience to the Church and to her priests.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the story of what a tremendous revolution was wrought in the thoughts and practice, nay, in the whole life of men by the Protestant Reformation. The ideas and principles of that Reformation, as first preached by Luther, and then by a multitude of others, are still vital, are still bearing fruit in the lives of men to-day. And the witness is still needed; for the mediæval type of religion, as I have described it, is by no means dead in the world to-day. It is still powerful; it yet has its thousands, nay, millions of votaries.

What was it, then, that Luther emphasised? This, that religion is a *personal* matter, or it is nothing. It is a matter, first of all, between the soul and its God. There must be, first of all, the turning to God in repentance and faith. In this turning and this faith lies the evidence that a man is a child of God; that his sins are forgiven and that he himself is "justified," accepted as righteous in God's sight. God in Christ is the only object of faith. Christ is the sole Intercessor between God and men, who, by His death on the Cross, has made full atonement for our sins, and has thus

accomplished the reconciliation to God of all those who believe. God thus manifests Himself to believers as their loving Father in Christ. Such was the message of Luther, and a great and Divine message it was. It is, in fact, no other than the Pauline message of Justification by Faith. It is far more than a doctrine; it is the vital and primary experience of salvation. *Subjectively* and *consciously* it is the starting-point of the individual Christian life and experience. But human nature is very imperfect, and at its best is subject to many a limitation. To no one man is it given at once to grasp the whole counsel of God and to hold all its parts in due proportion and emphasis. Certainly this was not granted to Luther. Luther's tendency and that of those who followed him was to stop short with that experience of salvation which I have just described as though it were the *end*—the all in all—and not rather, as it truly is, the *beginning*. There are other gifts of God, there are other steps or stages in the process of salvation besides this initial and primary one of justification by faith. But it was not given to Luther, or to the theology of Lutheranism, at least in its older form, to develop these, or adequately to work them out in Christian practice. For there are two other great and important steps in the process of salvation, which may fairly be said to be equally vital with justification by faith. Not only are these great factors or *motives* emphasised throughout the New Testament Epistles, but they have been proved and illustrated in the lives of thousands of Christian men and women. These further steps in Christian life and experience, these further gifts of Divine grace and attainments of Christian character have not only found emphasis and illustration in individual lives. They have been stressed by great corporate movements in the history of the Church; they have found expression in creeds and statements of faith; they have been made the basis of

Church organisations. I refer to the two great conceptions of Sanctification and of Perfection, or Christian maturity. The witness to these, as I have said, is found throughout the New Testament Epistles, and particularly the Epistles of St. Paul; but it is in the Epistle to the Hebrews that they are presented as a characteristic part or element in a theology, and are given pre-eminent emphasis and expression. For, after all, St. Paul's name is, and always will be associated with the great doctrine of Justification by Faith. But there is another very weighty and important New Testament document which is, I believe, the product of an independent mind and brain of the first order, comparable with that of St. Paul himself, and that is, the Epistle to the Hebrews. In this Epistle we find no mention, at least in terms, of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. It is *sanctification* and it is *perfection*—i.e., Christian adulthood or maturity—that are here brought to the front, and upon which the emphasis is laid. Now, what of these ideals—namely, of Sanctification (or Holiness) and of Perfection (or Full-growth)? To what extent have they been consciously recognised, definitely striven after, and, by God's grace, achieved and attained in the generations of Christian men and women who have lived since the Protestant Reformation, and who have inherited and assimilated the results of that great movement? In the case of Luther, as I have said, the limitations both of the man himself and of the work which he was called upon to do must be fully and frankly recognised. God forbid that I should speak of those limitations in any invidious sense. No one man and no one life-work can be without its limitations. These must, indeed, be recognised as *assets* and not merely as *liabilities*. Each man, in the Divine Providence, is called and sent to do a specific task, for which he is individually responsible. The work, as he lays it down, is taken up and carried on to a

further stage of accomplishment by those who come after him. This great principle is certainly illustrated in the history of Christian thought and practice, and particularly as regards the Christian ideals of *sanctification* and of *perfection*. Not to speak invidiously, then, of Luther's own personal life; despite the fact of Luther's courage and heroism as the champion of Christian liberty, in the personal character and teachings of the leader of the German Reformation one would scarcely say that chief emphasis is laid upon Christian *holiness* or Christian *perfection*. Indeed, there are certain marked and rather glaring defects in Luther's life and teachings, in spite of the fact of his fundamental Christian character and integrity. But of these it is not necessary here to speak. When we turn to the Augsburg Confession—that fundamental expression of Lutheranism—we find in that document no section or chapter devoted to "sanctification" as such; still less is there any development of the idea or thought of "perfection" as among the gifts of Divine grace and the necessary elements of Christian character. (The same thing, by the way, is true of the Thirty-nine Articles—another product of the earlier period of Protestantism; there is no mention in terms of sanctification, or of Christian perfection.) It is hardly too much to say that the grace and high privilege of sanctification has not received adequate recognition or due emphasis at the hands of Lutheran divines or preachers; while as for the idea of *perfection* as something to be bestowed upon or attained by the individual Christian man or woman—it has been practically ruled out as impossible and unthinkable, if not, indeed, as blasphemous, inasmuch as it would infringe upon the sole prerogative of Christ. To Christ alone belongs "perfection"; to claim this as part of the heritage of the individual Christian seems to be an infringement upon the unique holiness and righteousness of the one Mediator

between God and men. Again, perfection or consecration, as set forth and emphasised in the teaching and practice of the Roman Church, especially in connexion with the monastic ideals of celibacy and asceticism, was wholly rejected by Lutheranism. The " merits of the saints " could not for a moment be maintained, in view of the sole merits of Jesus Christ. On the whole, one has a feeling that the idea and the claim of *holiness* as a thing to be attained by the individual believer, not to speak of it as a gift already conferred upon him in union with Christ—that this has received but scant recognition and rather feeble emphasis at the hands of divines of the Lutheran school.

When, on the other hand, we turn to Calvinism, especially as it developed in the form of the older Puritanism, we find that it *did* come to the distinct recognition, yes, to the emphatic affirmation of the necessity of Sanctification, as in addition to the initial stage of Conversion and Justification by Faith. Indeed, the very name Puritanism carries with it this emphasis upon Sanctification, or Holiness of life. Sanctification, in contrast to Justification (the initial act) was understood as a *process*, to be realised only gradually and by degrees in the advancing Christian experience. Sanctification, thus realised, means the progressive victory of righteousness over sin in the life and conduct of the believer. By it we are enabled, in the words of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, " more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness." On the whole, Puritanism, on both sides of the Atlantic, did give a due emphasis to the necessity and importance of sanctification ; this was indeed its distinct and grand contribution to Christian progress, not only in thought, but more especially in life and practice. Nevertheless, to Calvinism, as to Lutheranism, Justification by Faith still remained as the central and all-important point ; inasmuch as upon it hinged the eternal destiny of the

human soul. Justification by Faith still remains as the focus and hinge of the whole system of "evangelical" religion.

(3) With the teaching of Wesley, we enter upon the later form or development of "evangelical" religion. In the older Protestantism, even in its Calvinistic form, the conception of "sanctification" was, after all (I think we may say), practically subordinate to that of "justification." The latter, as an act consummated once for all, was clean-cut and definitive; it was something integral and complete. Sanctification, on the other hand, could only be regarded as inchoate, and as, at best, but partially realised in this present life. One had it only in part; it therefore remained as a more or less indefinite and unsatisfactory possession. One was, indeed, *seeking* sanctification; but one could hardly know whether or not he possessed it.

The practical mind of Wesley was unable to rest in such a conception. Sanctification, as a distinct gift of the Spirit, could not be thought of as a thing unattainable in the present life; if it must ever remain imperfect, God's purpose for His children remained to that extent unachieved. To the idea of "sanctification" must therefore be joined the idea of "perfection"; otherwise, Christian holiness must remain as an ideal for ever unrealised, at least, so far as our experience in this world is concerned. The practical danger in acquiescing in such a conception is that men will remain for ever content with a rudimentary Christian experience—with a childish standard of spiritual living, unworthy of grown-up men and women in Christ. Accordingly, the two great "foci" of early Methodist teaching were, (1) Conversion (practically identified with Regeneration, or New Birth), and (2) Holiness, or Sanctification; the latter being conceived as the second stage in the soul's experience of Divine grace, and, as such, just as necessary and important as the first.

From this teaching of Wesley, conservative Evangelicals of the older type turned away, even as the original Protestants had turned away from the Roman ideal of monastic asceticism. Indeed, to the conservative Calvinists of Wesley's day, his doctrine of "sanctification" and Christian "perfection," with its emphasis upon "good works" and definite rules of life and conduct, seemed to savour strongly of Romanism. For how was it possible or conceivable that a man or woman should be *perfect* in this present life? Was not perfection the sole prerogative of the sinless Son of God? Were we not, by the very conditions of our fallen human nature, condemned throughout life to frailty and imperfection, to a partial and scanty reflection of the image of Christ? Nevertheless, I think we must recognise the fact that Wesley's teaching of "perfection" as an ideal to be laid hold upon in faith and hope, and, by God's grace, to be built into Christian character, did represent a real advance upon Calvinism in its older form, even as Calvinism represented a fuller and stronger moral emphasis than did the teaching of Luther.

As for other "holiness" movements which have arisen in the Church since the days of Wesley and of early Methodism, we can at present hardly do more than barely refer to them. They are, however, very important; they have a vital message and meaning for men and women to-day. It is not too much to say that "holiness" or "wholeness" is perhaps the dominant conception in the minds and hearts of earnest Christians at the present time. Such conferences as those at Keswick (in England) are evidence of this, as was also the work of the late Dr. Simpson in the vicinity of New York City. "Holiness" in the sense of bodily and mental soundness and health is set forth as part of the Christian ideal, as indeed it ought to be. Our Lord in His earthly ministry not only forgave the sins of those who turned to

Him; He also healed their diseases; He restored distraught and afflicted minds to serenity and poise, to cheerfulness and hope. His Spirit is "the Spirit of a sound mind," with which a sound body is intimately related. Our Lord came to restore and complete the whole man, in body, soul and spirit. The various "healing" movements of the present day—I need only refer to the work of the Society of the Nazarene and to that of Mr. Hickson—all of these movements, in so far as they are based upon sound principles, are very closely related to the ideal of Christian holiness. Even such movements as those of "mental healing" in its various forms, as Couéism and "Christian Science," are efforts to realise a certain ideal of "wholeness" or "perfection." All these movements are based upon the idea that it is not enough that life remain rudimentary and partially realised, but that *fulness* and *completeness* of life, both in body and soul, is part of the Divine ideal for man. The mistake that is so often made, however—and it is important that we recognise this—lies in ignoring the equally important fact that it is only through *suffering* and *limitation*, gladly and freely accepted as from God, even to the point of death itself—and gladly borne in fellowship with His Son—that the Divine plan for us can be realised. Even as the Captain of our salvation was "made perfect *by the things which he suffered*," so must we be also.

Such, then, in brief outline, is the history of these great facts and ideals of "justification," "sanctification" and "perfection," as they have been progressively grasped and realised in Christian experience, and especially on Protestant soil, since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. From this historical review let us now turn back to the New Testament, and in particular to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and ask ourselves how these great thoughts of Perfection and of Sanctification are there presented. Sanctification

and Perfection are indeed the key-words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, so far as our *appropriation* of salvation is concerned. These two concepts are, in fact, identified, inasmuch as "holiness" and "wholeness" are essentially one and the same. But the significant fact here is, that in the Epistle to the Hebrews both "sanctification" and "perfection" are definitely placed *at the beginning* of the Christian life; they are indicated as characteristic marks of that life from its very inception. In evidence of this, the following quotations may suffice: "By which will we have been sanctified (*ἡγιασμένοι ἐσμέν*) through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ, once for all" (x. 10). "Who counted the blood of the covenant, wherein he was sanctified, an unholy (or 'common') thing" (x. 29).

As for "perfection" or "perfecting," the testimony is no less explicit: "The law made nothing perfect; but the bringing in of a better hope (did), by the which we draw near unto God" (vii. 19). It is affirmed that the "gifts and sacrifices" of the older Covenant "could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience" (ix. 9), the implication being, that the sacrifice once offered by Christ upon the Cross *has* this perfecting and completing power. Again (in chapter x. verses 1 and 2): "The law . . . can never, with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. For then would they not have ceased to be offered?" The implication is, of course, that the sacrifice of Christ (which, having been consummated once for all, has "ceased," so far as the actual immolation is concerned) *has* this very power of "making perfect" those who, through it, draw nigh to worship God. But it is in verse 14, which follows, that the clearest and most explicit statement of this fact is found. It is there definitely stated that Christ "by one offering hath perfected for ever (*τετελείωκεν εἰς τὸ διηνεκές*)

those who are sanctified." From the standpoint of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he who has entered upon the Christian career, he who has been "enlightened," and has "tasted the heavenly gift," has received the forgiveness of his sins, and has himself been "sanctified." This means, moreover, that he has been "made perfect." Yet this relative "perfection" is realised by us only as we are in union with Christ. "Perfection," in the full and absolute sense of sinlessness, is realised in Christ alone. As Son of Man, Jesus was "made perfect" by the things which He suffered; "being tempted in all points like as we are, (yet) without sin." The "perfection" which we now possess is incipient; it is real, but it is only a beginning. Although already "sanctified" by the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and by the sprinkling of His Blood, we still have to follow on after complete sanctification. Having already been "sanctified" and "made perfect" *in Christ*, yet *in ourselves* we still fall far short both of "perfection" and "sanctification." Yet both of these are necessary if we would see God, and enter into the fulness of our inheritance in His presence. Complete sanctification and perfection await those who, through faith and patience, finally inherit the Divine promises; their full realisation will be found only in the life "beyond the veil."

A question which occurs at this point is, What relation does the crisis of *death* bear to the "holiness" or "perfection" of the Christian soul? In opposition to the Roman conception of Purgatory as a place of continuous discipline and purgation during that period which elapses between the moment of death and the time of resurrection and of final judgment, Protestantism in its extremer form, as represented by the Westminster Shorter Catechism, made the following affirmation: "The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass

into glory, while their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves until the Resurrection." In evidence of this statement, the passage Hebrews xii. 18 ff. was cited. It is there affirmed that we, as Christians, are now "come," not to Mount Sinai, where, of old the Law was given under circumstances which awakened fear and dread, but "unto Mount Zion, and unto the City of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem . . . and to the spirits of just men" (i.e., the saints of the Old Covenant) (now) "*made perfect.*" But surely the real meaning of this passage is not to connect "perfection" inseparably with the moment of death; rather, when considered in its context, it is seen to have quite a different effect. For the writer had already concluded his wonderful review of the deeds of Old Testament heroes, *wrought by faith*, with the statement that "these all, having obtained a good report by faith, received not the promise; God having provided some better thing with reference to us, that, apart from us, they should not be made perfect." In other words, the "perfecting" of those Old Testament saints, like our own, depended for its consummation upon the finished work of Christ, in His sacrifice upon the Cross. That "perfection," as the distinguishing characteristic of the New Covenant, has now been realised. Not only is it realised here by us, in this present earthly life; it has been experienced in the spirit-world by those who had from days of old been looking and longing for the coming of Messiah, the promised Redeemer. To them was the glad tidings of His finished work proclaimed by that Redeemer Himself, when, having been "put to death in the flesh," but "quickened in spirit," He went to proclaim the Gospel even in the place of departed spirits.[1] The spirits of those just men, now "made perfect" along with us, are therefore in the immediate presence of God, yet still awaiting

[1] 1 Peter iii. 18–20; cp. ibid., iv. 6.

that final consummation of the Resurrection and of God's eternal Kingdom. The evidence that can be adduced from the Epistle to the Hebrews, taken in connexion with that of St. Peter in his First Epistle, is all in favour of the thought of progressive sanctification and holiness; of the fuller realisation of the meaning and power of our Lord's atoning work in the world beyond the grave. Sanctification need not stop short at death, nor is it at that moment necessarily consummated, as "in the twinkling of an eye." St. Paul's confidence on behalf of the Philippians was, that "he who had (already) begun a good work in them would (continue to) perform it *until the day of Jesus Christ.*" Nevertheless a great truth is contained in the statement of the Presbyterian Catechism, particularly in regard to those who may be termed "the elect"—I mean, in regard to earnest, faithful, devoted Christian men and women. It is beyond question that death, when it is accepted and undergone in the spirit of Jesus Christ, has a very immediate and intimate relation to our "perfecting." Was not this seen in the case of our Lord Himself? Though He were Son of God, yet we are told that He "learned obedience by the things which he suffered," and "having been made perfect" by obedience even to the point of death upon the Cross, He thereby "became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him." To the faithful follower of Jesus Christ, death comes as his final "perfecting." Those who have died "according to faith" have thereby graduated from the state of pupillage here below into the estate of fuller maturity beyond the veil. Delivered from "the burden of the flesh" and from the sins and temptations incident thereto, the Christian soul henceforward partakes of the beatific vision of God, and in His light is "glorified."

But what is one to say as to that large number of persons, members of Christ by baptism, who, to all appearance,

depart from this life in what can only be called a very rudimentary state of spiritual development? What are we to say of them? Is there no place for discipline, for cleansing, for correction in that world of the unseen? Are we to think of such persons as being mechanically sanctified and made perfect at or immediately after the moment when the soul leaves the body? Such an idea seems forced and unnatural in the highest degree. Can we presume to shut out the possibility of such souls advancing through penitence and contrition, yes, even through the discipline of pain, to a clearer and deeper faith in the crucified and Risen Lord, and thus to higher and worthier stages of spiritual development prior to the resurrection of the dead and the eternal judgment? While a good and holy death comes as the final "perfecting," completion and crown of the faithful Christian life, we must recognise the fact that the character of one's death is very largely determined by the character of the life that has preceded it. But of this whole subject of the "intermediate state" and of the life beyond the veil we know so very little. One should hesitate to dogmatise overmuch concerning these "deep things of God."

One thought in conclusion. Our "perfection" or "holiness" is no merely negative ideal; it is something positive and constructive. It is only a part of our duty, as Christian priests and shepherds of the flock, to labour with all care and diligence, in the words of the Ordination Office, "to bring all such as are or shall be committed to our charge unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among us either for error in religion or for viciousness in life." Christian perfection consists not merely in the avoidance of heresy and the elimination of vice, important as these are. St. Paul's ideal for his converts, as set before us in the Epistle to the Ephesians, was a far larger

and fuller one: "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. . . . And He gave some (to be) apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; *for the perfecting of the saints*, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ." The final goal of this process of sanctification is "that we all attain unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, *unto a full-grown man*, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." It is "that we may be no longer children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine . . . but *speaking* (and *doing*) *truth* in love ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ) may grow up in all things unto him who is the Head, (even) Christ." This is the grand ideal, not of the individual apart from the Church, nor yet of the Church apart from the individual; it is the ideal both of the individual and of the Church in one. It is from Christ, the Head, that "all the body, fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in (due) measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body, unto the building up of itself in love."

WILLIAM S. BISHOP.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM.

JOHN II. 4.

MAY I offer a short contribution to the problem raised by Rev. Alexander Soutar (EXPOSITOR, 1924, April, p. 300). In the papyri which I have seen, there are no examples, so far as I know, of the interrogative sentence *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*; but I found a line which seems to have an indirect bearing on the interpretation of John ii. 4. In the Berlin Papyrus Nr. 1141, 37 f. (Abusir el mäläq, 17th year of Augustus) a letter-writer says: *Ξύστον δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς δεδειπνηκέναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ παρὰ Ἔρωτα δὶς προσελαβόμην αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον παρ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ διαστολὰς*

μηδὲν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκείνωι εἶναι. I think I am right in translating: "As soon as I saw that Xystus had been to supper within the house with Eros, I took him twice in my house and explained to him *that he* [Xystus] *had nothing to do with him* (Eros)." In my opinion the translation "that it would be nothing to him and the other," would be impossible.

ADOLF DEISSMANN.

JOHN II. 4.

MR. SOUTAR'S view is held by Rev. R. J. Campbell (*The Life of Christ*, p. 137), who thinks that the phrase might be rendered in colloquial English, "Mother, can you and I interfere in this?" But practically all the authorities are against such a rendering. I append a small catena of views. (a) Dr. E. A. Abbott (*Johannine Grammar*, 2229, 2230) points out that while *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* might "theoretically be rendered, 'what does this concern me and thee?'" yet, "as a fact, both in Hebrew and Greek, 'what [is there] *to me and thee?*' always implies '*to me and thee in common*,' so that the meaning is, 'What have we to do with one another?' . . The phrase was so common that no contemporary Greek could doubt that *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* had to be supplied." Nonnus was not a contemporary Greek. As Dr. Abbott remarks later (2642*a*), "it is probable his interpretation of *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* was influenced by poetic and theological feeling." (b) Loisy (*Le Quatrième Évangile*, pp. 274, 275) interprets the saying as respectful but independent. "Jèsus dit à sa mère qu'il n'y a rien de commun entre eux. Sa mère ne lui est rien dans l'accomplissement de sa mission divine." (c) W. Bauer (*Johannes*, in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. ii., pp. 27, 28): *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* "bedeutet, Lass mich in Ruhe." (d) Godet (on John ii. 4): "The formula always signifies that the relation which one of the interlocutors seeks to form is rejected by the other. . . Mary must learn that, in the sphere in which Jesus has entered, she is nothing more to Him than a simple woman."

SOME RECENT WORK UPON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

(a) In *The Jewish Quarterly Review* (October, 1923, pp. 141–187) Dr. B. Jacob maintains (i.) that the only correct division of the Ten Words is that which makes the first commandment run: "I am the Eternal thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," while the second is, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, etc." To the objection that this makes the first commandment a statement, not a commandment, Dr. Jacob replies that the Decalogue is never called the ten commandments but the ten words. (ii.) The secondary clauses are original, for "it must be disputed categorically that brevity in the wording of a law is necessarily an indication of antiquity"; the later a law is, the more concise it is, Dr. Jacob writes, having against him nearly all writers on ancient legislation. (iii.) The fourth commandment is original, for the sabbath in Israel is neither due to a Babylonian prototype nor to the new moon festival, but inherent in the Hebrew idea of God the Creator; it is the recognition of Him who rested on the seventh day. (iv.) The tenth commandment is held to have been not simply "thou shalt not covet," but "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, etc." In the ninth and tenth commandments "neighbour" has nothing to do with Israelite or non-Israelite (Exod. xi. 2 is quoted to prove this), but denotes "every man with whom I stand in close relationship, no matter of what descent or what social circle he may belong to." Finally (v.) the first table contains five commandments with reasons and motives attached, while the five prohibitions of the second table have none and need none, since they rest on reciprocity; "they demand nothing from me towards others that I may not demand from others towards me." As to the statement about the decalogue having been "written by God" on the tables, Dr. Jacob has this to say, "All the other commandments had been given to the people through the mediation of Moses, to whom alone God revealed Himself, but the basic commandments of the Decalogue were imparted to the people by God Himself without any mediation and for eternal remembrance. Thus it has been written down by God Himself—not in a book the script of which

may be blotted out, but engraved indestructibly on stone tablets."

(b) In *The Old Testament and After* (1923) Dr. Montefiore, as we might expect, takes a very different view from that of Dr. Jacob. Thus, with regard to the meaning of " neighbour " (iv., above), he assumes that it would be quite unscientific to deny or forget that the command to love one's " neighbour " as oneself refers to a fellow-countryman. It is simply one of the limitations of the Decalogue that originally and literally it contemplated this view of " neighbour." But he properly adds (pp. 183 f.) that " beyond the literal meaning of the Ten Words, they stand in our minds and hearts for what they have been made to include, for what men have read into them or distilled out of them." Moral evolution has gone forward since they were first promulgated. " But it is the Ten Words which began the process, and what is much more, it is the continuous existence, recollection and pressure of the Ten Words which have sustained and stimulated us in the development." However, in this finely toned book the writer has not any special occasion to deal with the Decalogue except as one of the expressions of Hebrew ethics.

(c) The most arresting study is that of Professor Hans Schmidt in his essay on " Moses and the Decalogue," contributed to the rich Gunkel Festschrift *Eucharisterion* (pp. 78–119). Here we have a sturdy defence of the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue from the pen of a modern critic (especially, pp. 108 f.). Or rather, of a decalogue. For Schmidt cannot admit that the traditional form of the Decalogue is original. As it came from Moses, it ran thus : " I am Yahweh, a God full of jealousy (or passion, *Leidenschaft*), visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon their children, to the second and the third generations, but showing his mercy unto thousands. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not bow down to them. Thou shalt not serve them. Thou shalt not make unto thee any carved image. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh in vain. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy fellow-countrymen. Thou shalt not covet anything that belongs to thy fellow-countrymen." That is, he regards the description of Yahweh in the second commandment as having originally stood at the opening of the

Decalogue. He sees, like Dr. Montefiore, that "neighbour," in the light of 1 Samuel xxx. 26 and Jeremiah xxii. 13, must mean "fellow-countryman" (p. 84). What is more important is that he notices in Deuteronomy vii. 8b–11, a correction of the retribution-doctrine in this description of Yahweh, which proves, he thinks, that the Decalogue is older than Deuteronomy, and also that the man who inserted this gloss was "far from any belief in verbal inspiration." He sees no reason, so far as language goes, why this Decalogue cannot have been composed by Moses himself. The very temper of the prologue is characteristic of Moses. And if it is argued, for example, that the use of golden calves, teraphim, etc., in later Israel would have been impossible had Moses issued the prohibition of images, Schmidt (pp. 95 f.), like Sellin, points out that some of these were not images of Yahweh at all, and that the prophetic protest against such as were images of Yahweh goes back to a tradition that Moses himself had entered such a protest against foreign idolatries. But the Decalogue morality was not observed by later ages? Perhaps not always (pp. 97 f.), but that does not prove it did not exist. The story of David's intrigue with Bathsheba and the assertion of Elijah (1 Kings xxi. 19) indeed prove that the seventh and eighth and tenth commandments were recognised. Schmidt does not, however, believe that the ordinary fourth and fifth commandments were Mosaic; the Decalogue had five ritual and five ethical precepts, and there is no reason why the Sabbath should have been selected; old as it is, we can hardly believe it was ever the one sacred day for ancient Israel. This is the least convincing part of Schmidt's argument. Surely both the family and the Sabbath were enshrined in the ethical practice of Israel long before the exile (pp. 104 f.). In tracing the literary history of the Decalogue, Schmidt (pp. 100 f.) sees it influencing the narrative of Exodus xxxiv. 12 f., echoing in Hosea iv. 2 ("swearing and lying and killing, and stealing and committing adultery"), and in Jeremiah vii. 9 ("Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense to Baal, and walk after other gods whom ye know not?"). The fact that Jeremiah ignores the conventional fourth and fifth commandments is taken by Schmidt as a corroboration of his thesis that they did not belong to the primitive Decalogue, but were inserted after Jeremiah's age. That the original Decalogue,

with its combination of awe and reverence for God and a sense of moral obligation, is the work of Moses, Schmidt believes heartily. Without this, he declares, the history of Israel is unintelligible. Never make the mistake of undervaluing the reflective powers and acuteness of primitive man, particularly of a heroic personality like that of Moses. It was Moses who issued this great little code at Sinai (not, as Wellhausen, E. Meyer and Gressmann think, at Kadesh), written on a couple of small stone tablets, carried inside the ark. Over five hundred years later the tablets disappeared. But by this time the Decalogue was enshrined in the hearts and memories of the people.

(d) It is here that Professor Kennett's suggestion comes in, made four years ago in his monograph on *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue* (pp. 46 f.). He thinks it probable that "an object jealously guarded by priestly custodians should in the popular mind come to be regarded as miraculous; and there is not the least difficulty in supposing that tables of stone which had been hewn and engraved by ordinary workmen in the second half of the ninth century B.C. were thought in the first half of the sixth century to have been written by the finger of God, especially if in the meanwhile the ark and its contents had disappeared." Professor Kennett is in agreement with Schmidt on the later origin of the fifth commandment (pp. 65 f.), by the way. He argues from Exodus xxi. 15, Leviticus xx. 9, Deuteronomy xxvii. 16, and Ezekiel xxii. 7, that some "disregard of parental authority which threatened the social system" during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. elicited this commandment. Also (pp. 67 f.) that "covet" in the tenth commandment may fairly be rendered "try to acquire" (as Micah ii. 2), a view which Dr. Jacob repudiates hotly.

(e) Schmidt's plea for an imageless worship of Yahweh in the age of Moses is reinforced by Mr. Maurice H. Farbridge in *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (1923), pp. 60 f. That Semites did worship the deity under the form of a bull or a calf is plain. But Mosaism had risen to the higher level of an imageless worship; Moses forbade even the use of the bull as a symbol of Yahweh. "There was an attempt by the Hebrews after the Exodus and later in the days of Jeroboam to introduce a symbolical representation of Jehovah, and, being an agricultural race, they selected the bull, which was everywhere regarded as a

symbol of strength, in preference to other animals." But the very vigour of the protest of Moses against the golden calf made by Aaron shows that the prohibition of all images in the Decalogue is not incompatible with the faith of Moses. When the later prophets like Hosea denounced this, they were reverting to the earlier and finer Mosaic position.

SERMONS I HAVE NEVER HEARD.

Others may have been more fortunate than I have been. Perhaps there may be sermons on these subjects and texts already in print. I do not know, for I am not a theologian at all, merely a man who has listened to many sermons during the last forty-three years. I have been generally, like Mr. Gladstone, a "twicer," and not often without some profit. But sometimes during the Scripture lessons I have been struck by a phrase or passage which no preacher ever seemed to touch, or which he seemed to touch wrongly. With the editor's permission I shall set down one or two of these. I once read, somewhere in the letters of Dr. Benjamin Jowett, a note of "subjects which ought to be, but never are treated in sermons. Love. The passions—not generally, but particularly. Good manners. Differences of rank. The right use of money. The influence of art. Self-dedication. The limits of self-denial. Failure in life." On some of these, especially the first and the last, I have heard men preach, and preach to the point. But, meantime, I shall confine myself to texts, and leave subjects or themes alone.

(*a*) Judges i. 1. *Now after the death of Joshua it came to pass, that the children of Israel asked the Lord, saying, Who shall go up against the Canaanites first, to fight against them?*

I would begin by telling the congregation that the subject of sermon was "Mamihlapinatapai." Impressively pronounced, that word would catch their attention. This seven-syllabled term seems to be a Fuegian word. At any rate, in his book on *Citizenship* (p. 89), Dr. W. H. Hadow, the Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, after quoting from Dr. Marett some remarks about the tendency of primitive people like the natives of Tierra del Fuego to use ample words, adds: "A remarkable instance, which should be inscribed over the door of every conference-room in Europe, is *Mamihlapinatapai*, which means, 'to look at each

other hoping that either will offer to do something which both desire but are unwilling to begin.' " This would fit more than conference-rooms, for, unless I am mistaken in my judgment of men, there are plenty of good people who are secretly waiting to see if some one else will not step forward to tackle a piece of work which claims to be done. They are not unwilling to do it. But they are quite willing that some one else should try it first.

(*b*) 1 Kings i. 6. *And his father had not displeased him at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so? and he also was a very goodly man; and his mother bare him after Absalom.*

The three reasons why Adonijah rebelled against his father and tried to seize the crown. (i.) He had never been checked by his father; David had spoiled him. Adonijah had never been accustomed to be thwarted or opposed at home, and this fatal leniency had developed his self-will. Then (ii.) he was an extremely handsome man. Probably he thought this a recommendation, as indeed it was in ancient days, for any candidate. But the consciousness of being handsome does not make for humility, and the lack of humility means a lack of good judgment. Lastly, (iii.) he had a grievance; he claimed the rights of seniority. Now that Absalom was dead, he was the oldest surviving son, and this seemed to justify his title to the succession. I do not know if in Israel primogeniture carried with it the crown in a royal family. Perhaps David showed favouritism. If so, the lad may not have been altogether to blame.

(*c*) 2 Corinthians vi. 2. *Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.*

I have indeed heard sermons on this text, but they all went wrong. They earnestly pled that now or never we must decide; this, preacher after preacher told us, this is your last opportunity. But I was once informed by a good scholar that the true meaning is, " This is at last your opportunity." My friend assured me—and I have reason to trust his opinion—that the apostle meant to rouse his readers to the fact that the long-hoped-for day of grace had dawned upon them. I suppose, therefore, St. Paul meant what our Lord meant when He said, *Many prophets and kings have desired to see these things which ye see, and have not seen them.*

A. R. M.

REVIEWS.

Spirit and Personality. An essay in theological interpretation. By William Samuel Bishop, D.D. pp. 188. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.

Dr. Bishop makes some use of the terms of modern psychology in his statement of the doctrine of the Person of Christ, and even of such modern algebraical symbols as p^1, p^2, in elucidation of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. His standpoint and conclusions are, however, anything but modern—as may be seen from the following sentences on Justification by Faith. "While there is, no doubt, an antithesis between the teaching of the two Apostles, Christian faith can never rest satisfied in the thought that there is any real contradiction. Surely the Divine Spirit who inspired both St. James and St. Paul cannot have contradicted Himself, for, as God, "He abideth faithful; he cannot deny himself."

The whole method of the discussion is scholastic, and while the book is valuable as an interpretation of the historic creeds, it makes no contribution to modern theology. D. W. G.

* * * * *

The New Testament. An American Translation. By Edgar Johnson Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press. $2.50.

In the recently published volume of "Anglican Essays" the Rev. R. H. Murray, writing on the English Reformation, reminds us again of our debt to the Authorised Version.

"There were to be many translations of the Bible before the extraordinarily fine one of 1611 appeared. As we read it, we are apt to forget that it is only in our tongue that it holds this pride of place. A Frenchman does not usually look at his Bible, and cannot buy his Vulgate as reasonably as we do our version. A German is apt to treat his Lutheran version as a document in philology, not the model of style our own is. Matthew Arnold made us aware of a certain congruity of sentiment with the Hebrews which has led us to adopt their patriarchs and rulers for our own. The supreme superiority of our 1611 version is due in part to this consonance of character."

No modern translation of the New Testament can hope to rival the King James version in respect of beauty of language,

rhythm or dignity. Recall the haunting beauty of the familiar Benedictus, and then turn to the American translation.

" Blessings on the Lord, the God of Israel,
Because he has turned his attention to his people, and brought about their deliverance,
And he has produced a mighty Saviour for us
In the house of his servant David."

The Authorised Version is—as it ought to be—pure poetry; the American rendering is poor prose. Spurgeon's criticism of the Revisers that they were strong in Greek but weak in English seems to apply to most modern translators. " Jesus shed tears " does not seem an improvement on " Jesus wept." Still worse is the rendering of the High Priestly Prayer :—" Father, the time has come. Do honor to your son that your son may do honor to you."

We still look for a happy collaboration between an English stylist and a Greek scholar to do for the New Testament what Butcher and Lang did for the Odyssey.

But Dr. Goodspeed anticipates such criticism. " The writers of the New Testament had for the most part little use for literary art. The great passages in the New Testament owe their greatness more to the trenchant vigor of their thought or the moral sublimity of their ideas, than to the graces of rhetoric." We are not sure that this is the last word. We suspect that, in spite of himself, the Apostle Paul was something of a rhetorician. But we do not for a moment question the extraordinary value of such a modern translation as this. In it an epistle of St. Paul reads like a new book. And in this version the Greek shines through. Every page reveals some fine shade of meaning which the older translators had missed. Dr. Moffatt's is a freer, and therefore a more spirited translation; but Dr. Goodspeed's is extraordinarily faithful without being slavish.

The Greek text of Westcott and Hort is closely followed, and the few departures from it are happy ones. In John xix. 29 *ὑσσῷ* is read for *ὑσσώπῳ*." " So they put a sponge on a pike." In 1 Peter iii. 19 Dr. Rendel Harris' ingenious addition of the word *Ἐνώχ* gives us " In it Enoch went and preached even to those spirits that were in prison." On the other hand Philippians iv. 4, " Good-bye. and the Lord be with you always," seems a doubtful rendering of *χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ πάντοτε*.

The typography of the American version is beyond all praise. The text is beautifully printed on a full page, unencumbered by notes, and the verse markings, though clear, do not catch the eye.

D. W. Greenfield.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Visions of Hope and Fear. A Study of the Book of Revelation and its Message for To-day. By George W. Thorn. Student Christian Movement. 5*s*.

Mr. Thorn, like Canon Glazebrook, is frankly historical in his method. He recognises that the message of the Apocalypse "can only be discovered when the study of it is based upon the frankest recognition of the fact that it was written with the purpose of helping and encouraging certain Christian men and women living in the Province of Asia towards the close of the first century of our era." He does not bind himself to the literary hypothesis of Dr. Charles; indeed, he is one of those who refuse, on psychological grounds, to admit the legitimacy of that hypothesis or of any like it. "In telling dreams we often 'think back'—one scene recalling another which in part explains it." He also recognises, like Canon Glazebrook, that the idea of Nero redivivus is essential to the author's scheme of thought. The implications of the description of heaven are not drawn out so fully as in Canon Glazebrook's pages, but Mr. Thorn faces at the end the question of the non-fulfilment of the prophecies. John the prophet expected and promised an immediate return of Christ. This was not fulfilled. History took a different course. But, Mr. Thorn justly adds, remember that the value of a prophecy like this lies in its spiritual insight rather than in its accuracy of forecast. "It is the *certainty* of the return that is the real heart of his message, not the *immediacy* of it. He believed that behind all the apparent confusion of history there was a moral order which must be vindicated, and that such vindication was inseparable from the triumphant manifestation of Jesus Christ as Redeemer and Lord. And that is the inspired truth that we are called upon to receive and cherish." This is an honest, fair-minded effort to lift the interpretation of the Book of Revelation out of fantastic theories and pious misapplications.

CURRENT ISSUES.

THE division of our Bible into chapters is convenient. Both for public worship and for private devotional reading it serves to break up the text into useful sections, especially in the historical and the prophetic and the epistolary books. But sometimes the division is not happy. It is even misleading, as Professor A. T. Robertson shows in the article he contributes to this number.

* * * * *

Calvin used to warn readers against making any break, for example, between the tenth and the eleventh chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He was right. For the argument of the eleventh chapter, with its magnificent roll-call of historical illustrations, flows straight from the closing verses of the previous chapter. We should read right on: *We are not of them that shrink back unto perdition; but of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul. Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for,* etc. All that is said of faith, in what follows, brings out the truth that it inspires men and women to patience and hope, when they are tempted to withdraw or to hesitate before appearances of a threatening kind.

* * * * *

But there is a still more patent case in the Old Testament. It occurs in the second part of the book of Isaiah, in the "Servant of the Lord" passage, which begins at lii. 13, not at liii. 1. "The arrangement in the Authorised Version," says Dr. Peake in his recent essay on *The Messiah and the Son of Man*, "is perhaps the most unfortunate example of incompetent division of chapters in the whole Bible." Why? Well, liii. 1 begins, "Who hath believed our report?" Or rather, as we ought to render the Hebrew, "Who could have believed what we were told?" The extraordinary career and destiny of the Servant, now to be

described, are an utter surprise. And the *we* are the kings and nations described in lii. 15 :

> *Many a nation will be amazed at him,*
> *and kings shall be speechless before him ;*
> *For what had never been told them shall they see,*
> *and what they had never before heard shall they learn.*

As they recover from their first surprise and confusion at the unprecedented vocation of the Servant, they exclaim, " Who could have believed this ? " The rest of the passage is a quotation from their cry of adoring wonder. It is an effective expression of penitent surprise on the part of pagans who have seen the exaltation of the Servant and who have been led thereby to own God as their Lord.

* * * * *

In the third series of his religious papers and addresses, called *Fifty Years After*, the veteran Jewish rabbi and scholar, Sir Hermann Gollancz, reprints a sermon on religious education. His text is taken from Numbers xxi. 19 : " and they journeyed from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth." A mere record of stages in the itinerary of the Israelites ? Not so for Sir Hermann Gollancz. He takes them " midrash-like," for the sake of their etymology, to illustrate a vital lesson of religion.

* * * * *

" Mattanah " means a gift, " Nahaliel " means an inheritance from God, and " Bamoth " means heights. Now the holy Torah or Law of God is a " gift " to each generation, a gift which is realised to be an " inheritance," and this enables the devout to reach the " heights " of the higher life on earth. That is, religious education, based on the Torah, as Sir Hermann Gollancz says to his Jewish audience, based, we may say, on the Bible, is a fresh gift to each age. Our first sense of it is the sense that it is God-given, meant directly for us here and now. Then we reach the truth that it has been the possession of God's people in the past ; it is an inheritance from the days of old, with great traditions behind it, not a new discovery of our wise age but a lasting inheritance which each age has to make its own. And it is now, as it has always been, " the only possession on earth which has the power to lead man onward in this life until he reach ' the heights ' of spiritual living."

But what are these "heights?" Not always what the Church of the day imagines them to be. Sometimes the "inheritance" of the past leads to a wrong view of the higher life, which requires to be corrected. Now and then the "inheritance" ceases to be regarded as a fresh "gift" of God, with powers of new insight, and the result is a conventional, mediocre conception of the demands and possibilities of the "heights" on which God expects His people to live. Again, in the reaction against this, there may be an exaggerated and unwholesome vision of the "heights," as if they were incompatible with human duties and affections.

* * * * *

One instance of the latter is noted by Dean Inge in the paper upon Augustine's Confessions which he contributes to "Classics of the Inner Life." The unpleasant part of the book, he admits, "the part in which his standard of right and honour seems to diverge painfully from what commends itself to us," is the saint's treatment of the poor woman who had been faithful to him for fifteen years. He broke with her callously. Indeed he broke off all ties with the other sex. Why? Because it was the teaching not of the Church so much as of contemporary idealist philosophy that any connexion with a woman was degrading. The moral man who desired to live on the heights of wisdom must renounce all women. Hence Augustine's heartless behaviour. He had inherited a false view of spiritual duty and achievement.

* * * * *

As Dean Inge points out, "a sort of fanaticism about celibacy was in the air" towards the end of the fourth century, "and it affected Pagans and Christians alike. The flood rose higher still before the end of Augustine's life. 'The wings of the soul must touch no bird-lime' is typical of the language used." That is, an austere, ascetic misconception of purity had entered into the inheritance of the saint, and it affected for the worse his ideal of the heights to which he was called. His morality, or, at any rate, his ideas of morality, spoiled his religion. These ideas, Dean Inge allows, were drawn from the view of the philosophic life as laid down by Plato, Plotinus, and others. They were not due to the Bible, which is a reminder that the "inheritance" of the Church, in any age, requires to be carefully

analysed, so that the fundamental "gift of God" may be realised in it. Only thus can any true advance be made to the appointed "heights" of religious experience. The Church sometimes has to be reminded of the plain moral standards of the world, before which it may make a poor show, in matters like honesty and honour. But sometimes the Church has to criticise and supersede these standards, in order to be true to its higher calling, sometimes even to re-act against a current philosophy or ethical tendency.

THE TEN BEST BOOKS ON THE VALUE AND USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The writers of the books here recommended all attribute to the Old Testament a unique value in the sphere of religion and morals, although they recognise that much of its religious and moral teaching has been superseded and is imperfect, as judged by the highest standards. Their general aim is to show that the outstanding and really significant elements in the Old Testament are those that are best and highest. The recognition of a lower element of primitive belief and practice in the Old Testament and the conviction that some parts of what has been regarded as authoritative teaching are, or may be, hurtful to the conscience and thought of a modern reader, frequently leads to neglect or depreciation of the higher elements that exist in the Old Testament. The first three or four books here mentioned are intended to counteract this tendency.

G. A. Smith's well-known volume,[1] although amongst the earliest of its kind, is still notable for the variety and suggestiveness of its contents. The writer first explains his critical position and defends his view that in the period from Moses to the eighth century B.C. God established and

[1] George Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, 1901.

developed a special relationship with Israel, which is the final explanation of the profound religious and moral insight of its early teachers. His chief purpose, however, is to illustrate the value of the Old Testament for the preachers of the present day.

The material is arranged according to topics, such as: "The spirit of Christ in the Old Testament," "The hope of immortality in the Old Testament," and "The ethical importance of the Prophets." Christ's spirit in the Old Testament is found to be exhibited chiefly in the representation of Jehovah as a God of mercy and faithfulness. It is seen in the Pentateuch (Exod. xxxiv. 6, Deut. xxxii.) and with great clearness in the prophets (Jer., Isa. xl.–lv.). The small place held by the hope of immortality in Old Testament religion is recognised and the striking suggestion is made that a religion that supplies human life with strength and inspiration, without regard to future destiny, is particularly well fitted to minister to the needs of the present day. "The evangelical experiences of conversion, regeneration and redemption" do not presuppose faith in immortality, although they may lead on to it. The influence of the prophets upon the social ethics of Christendom is given as proof of the value of their teaching. The significant observation is made that in the days of the Stuart kings the champions of popular liberty drew their weapons from the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament and not from the New Testament. The social evils that so greatly concern the prophets are still urgent in our time, and their spirit of sympathy with the weak and the oppressed is the best stimulus to a programme of social reform.

According to C. F. Kent[1] God revealed Himself specially, but gradually, to the Hebrew people in the course of

[1] Charles Foster Kent, *The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament*, 1906.

their history, and the Old Testament is a record of this process of revelation. Its books vary much in value and show inconsistencies and imperfections which are due to the progressive nature of the revelation. A full account of the circumstances and manner of growth of each kind of Old Testament literature is given by this author, together with a statement of the purpose and value of each in its final form. The classes of literature distinguished are chiefly prophetic histories (inspired by a religious motive and teaching "ideals of courage, perseverance and piety"), prophetic sermons, epistles and apocalypses, law-books, Wisdom literature and Psalms. A special chapter is given to the interpretation of the narratives of Genesis, as its most perplexing part, and another chapter gives practical advice regarding the study and use of the Old Testament. The prophetic stories are called, in effect, the Children's Bible. In speaking of the relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament the author says that each is "a chapter in the history of the same divine revelation. The one is the foundation upon which the other is built." "As a simple, clear revelation of the character and will of the Divine Ruler, present and regnant in all life, the Old Testament is surpassed by only one other volume, and that is its complement, the New."

C. G. Montefiore includes in *The Old Testament and After* [1] a survey and analysis of the religious and moral teaching of the Old Testament at its best. His treatment is distinguished by its fulness and systematic form and by the fact that the author is a Liberal Jew. The topics treated in succession are first, the Old Testament conception of God and of God's relation to man and to Israel; next, man's relation to God and conceptions of sin and righteousness; then, suffering and evil and the Golden Age, followed

[1] Claude G. Montefiore, *The Old Testament and After*. 1923.

by a section entitled "Faith, Works and the Law." The last part of the survey is entitled "Ethical Ideals." The views of the Old Testament writers are critically and sympathetically expounded and their "imperfection" or "incompleteness," as judged by modern standards, is carefully measured.

It is maintained that the Old Testament conception of God, at its best, although not intellectually elaborated nor philosophically expressed, is quite adequate to the needs of a modern religious life. The uniqueness, omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence of God are all adequately expressed, and, above all, His goodness is emphasised. The essence of the Divine Being lies in His moral character or goodness, which is displayed in His justice and pity and lovingkindness. A full treatment is given of the words, "God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in loving-kindness and truth, showing loving-kindness (love) unto thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, but that will by no means absolve the guilty" (Exod. xxxiv. 6–7). After having quoted Old Testament passages which express the idea of the Divine Fatherhood, and having noted their comparative infrequency, the author says: "The metaphor of regarding God and invoking God as 'our Father' . . . is undoubtedly of great value, and it would be foolish not to recognise the advance made by those who made the usage common. Only it would be no less foolish to exaggerate and to suppose that because the best Old Testament teachers did not make use of the word they did not know and express the main ideas which the word indicates and implies."

Mr. Montefiore represents the special relation of God to Israel in the Old Testament as having a "taint of partiality" about it. He shows, however, how the partiality involved in God's election of Israel was limited and modified and

finally transcended (by the Babylonian Isaiah), and how a "natural relation" was changed into a "spiritual relation, a relation of privilege into a relation of service."

This author will carry most of his readers with him in the claim he makes for a recognition of the loftiness of the best morality of the Old Testament, whose cardinal commandment is "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." He is more than justified in asking that those who look for limitations in this and similar precepts ("If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; if he be thirsty, give him water to drink") should consider their own real standards of conduct and their own lives, before they cast the first stone.

Most modern writers on the value of the Old Testament use the conception of a progressive divine revelation to explain and harmonise the presence in it of higher and lower elements. It is represented that some, at least, of the primitive beliefs and practices inherited by the Hebrews from their heathen ancestors have survived in the Old Testament and that the early stages of revelation were limited by these and were, in their turn, cancelled and superseded by later stages. If so, it should be possible to set the lower and higher elements in their proper places and relations, in a general picture of the development of the revelation of Old Testament times. Yet, so far, very few writers have attempted to do this, even partially. One of the few is R. A. Aytoun,[1] who seeks to co-relate the varying Old Testament conceptions of God and to balance their relative importance. When God is represented as having eyes and hands and feet, or as being vindictive and ruthless, we are in the presence, he says, of primitive, erroneous conceptions, which are unworthy and inadequate.

[1] Robert Alexander Aytoun, *God in the Old Testament, Studies in Gradual Perception*, 1922.

These are all displaced, in the Old Testament itself, by truer and fuller views, so that to lay much stress upon them would be to give a wrong idea of the representation of God in the Old Testament as a whole. The prophets are monotheists who represent God as spiritual, universal, righteous and loving. So perfect is His justice that, though Israel is His peculiar people, he will not show any special indulgence to them. A challenge to belief in the divine justice was, in time, felt to be presented by the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous. These constituted a problem for which solutions were sought and found. The doctrine of God's love began as part of the conception of His relation to Israel. The prophets elevated the conception by giving it an ethical basis and showing that it demanded an ethical response. In the Servant passages (Isa. xl.–lv.) and in the Book of Jonah, the limitations to God's love are all swept away. God's love and pity are universal. The greater part of Mr. Aytoun's book is an exposition of the prophetic conceptions of God, but at least an indication is also given of the way in which these followed and expanded less spiritual views.

A valuable discussion of the nature and function of Scripture, upon different and rather special lines, is supplied by A. S. Peake in a volume that is mostly devoted to an account of the character and history of Biblical Criticism.[1] Chapters 13, 15, 19, 23 and 24 are the portions chiefly relevant to the subject of this article. The author claims for his view, with justice, that it makes Scripture valuable *throughout.* Revelation, he says, is a process in history, a manifestation of the living God in the national history of Israel and in the experiences of its greatest men. This process began when Israel was pagan in religion and

[1] Arthur S. Peake, *The Bible, Its Origin, Its Significance and Its Abiding Worth.* 2nd Edition, 1913.

morality and the limitations imposed by its starting-point were never quite transcended. The final revelation of God came only in Christ. The Old Testament is the written record of this preliminary revelation and of its historical environment. It is the medium by which we reach and understand the historical process. It is, therefore, all of value. It must be treated as an organic whole. Even the inferior parts contribute to the completeness of the general record and supply at least atmosphere and background. Ecclesiastes is taken as an extreme case of a book which "presents a view of existence fundamentally incompatible with Christianity." Yet the Old Testament "would be distinctly impoverished by the omission of the book from the Canon." It helps to complete the Old Testament as a record of the spiritual history of Israel. A recent publication of Dr. Peake's (*The Nature of Scripture*, 1922) states briefly the same view, but does not compensate for the original work, which is now, unfortunately, out of print.

Another way of establishing the value of all Scripture is illustrated rather than discussed in a recent book by J. E. McFadyen[1] and in similar books on the use of the Old Testament in the light of modern knowledge. Dr. McFadyen says that "Every passage has an idea at the heart of it . . . and it is the interpreter's business to recapture that." When we have learned to distinguish between "the primitive and often perplexing material" presented and "the idea to be conveyed through it . . . we are well on the way to mental peace," i.e. to a solution of our perplexities regarding the use and value of Old Testament Scripture. His work, accordingly, expounds the central purpose or lesson of fifty or sixty passages, which are chosen because they present difficulties or per-

[1] John Edgar McFadyen, *The Use of the Old Testament in the Light of Modern Knowledge*. 1922.

plexities to teachers of the present day. The passages are arranged in four groups: tales of the Early World, tales involving Miracle, tales of Judges and Kings, and, finally, some words of the Prophets, with a small selection from the Psalms and other poetical books.

In approaching the first group it is noted that Genesis i. is not a record of scientific facts and that the stories of the patriarchs are not strictly historical. Yet narratives of this class illustrate truths of universal experience, and their value is to be estimated accordingly, and not according to the extent or deficiency of the contribution they make to history or science. In Genesis i., it is said, the writer displays both artistic skill and religious insight in a high degree. He introduces to us the fact of God and exhibits the world as dependent upon Him and man as the culmination of God's creative purpose. Genesis ii. shows how God has given man work to do, laws to obey, a conscience to respect and a helper for the fulfilment of his destiny. Chapter iii. explains the nature, origin and progress of sin in the human heart. In Genesis xxii., the history of the sacrifice of Isaac, we are shown how men ought to sacrifice their most precious possessions to God, that the surrender of man's will is the real surrender required of him and that man's extremity is God's opportunity.

In the second group of passages the view presented is that the miracles of the Old Testament may often be observed to have a natural basis and may always have a scientific explanation, and yet the narratives that record them may continue to express to every reader the vital truth that behind everything that happens is the wonderful power and purpose of God. The manifestation of God to Moses in the bush, the plagues of Egypt, the crossing of the Red Sea, the giving of the manna and other incidents are taken as examples of the display of the power of God and of

the realisation of His purpose, without its being found necessary to give a positive decision upon the supernatural character of the miracles of the stories. The primary consideration in this treatment is that a growing number of people are constrained to see in such narratives not so much records of genuine miracles as stories coloured by the presuppositions of an ancient world, whose views of nature and natural events we no longer share. The idea that these stories, rightly read, still contain messages of living truth, is offered as a relief and a reasonable religious view to such readers as are in danger, otherwise, of dismissing the Bible stories as no longer of any interest or value to them.

In the tales of the Judges and Kings it is shown how national history was made to supply lessons of warning and examples of conduct, which apply also to the present day, if we strip away what belongs exclusively to the country and the period described. In the story of Achan (Josh. vii.) the casting of lots to ascertain the Divine will and the "devotion" of booty and captives to Jehovah are treated as examples of practices that belong merely to the stage of religious and social development then reached. The lessons at the heart of the narrative are taken to be the moral significance of national disaster and the influence of individuals upon their own and their neighbours' fortunes and fates.

A somewhat similar work by W. G. Jordan [1] includes only examples of the stories of the Old Testament. His object is to show their original significance and particularly what they teach and were intended to teach. The literary character and historical value of the stories, as well as their religious significance, are fully commented on. The narra-

[1] W. G. Jordan, *Ancient Hebrew Stories and Their Modern Interpretation.* 1922.

tives selected for treatment are taken chiefly from Genesis, Judges and Samuel, but Ruth, Jonah, Esther and some others are also included. Expositions from passages in Genesis occupy nearly one half of the volume and here much space is given to the literary history and form of the narratives and to their general implications and background. In the second half of the book the religious and moral lessons become more prominent. Joshua vii. (the story of Achan) is said to teach that sorrow comes through sin and that the weakness that ends in failure and defeat is caused by the rejection of the divine commands. The central theme of the Book of Ruth is found in the devotion of Ruth, "who chose the better part." Here and elsewhere, however, the writer speaks with hesitation of the *purposes* of the Biblical writers. It would have been better to emphasise the actual *influence for good* which the writings have exercised and, rightly used, still do exercise. Fitness for this service was and remains the chief test and justification of their admission to the Canon.

C. F. Kent's *Historical Bible* [1] contains a great deal more than an exposition of the religious and moral teaching of the books of the Old Testament, but is mentioned here because it probably gives more help than any other English work to the teacher or parent or clergyman who desires to be guided in understanding what is central and authoritative in the messages of the Old Testament writers. Volume I. includes the Book of Genesis and covers the period of Moses and the Exodus. The literary history of the narratives and the resemblance and relation of their contents to old Semitic beliefs and traditions are very fully explained. The national service and aim of the writers are elicited in a helpful and illuminating way. The aim and teaching of each narrative is carefully analyzed. If the modern inter-

[1] C. F. Kent, *The Historical Bible*, 4 vols. 1909–1911.

preter seems sometimes to go slightly beyond the meaning of the ancient author, the fault is infrequent. Volume II. covers the period from the death of Moses to the division of the Hebrew kingdom. "Life and human nature are (here) presented with a simple realism which makes these narratives invaluable guides to all who would know the soul of man and the eternal laws which govern human life." Their authors evidently had religious and ethical purposes in view. "They aimed not merely to write a history of their nation, but also through its most significant characters to interpret that history, so that the vital spiritual truths which it illustrates shall stand out in clear relief." Physical strength, courage and patriotism are the virtues chiefly illustrated. Volume III. includes extracts from the prophets and the historical records of their times. Volume IV. covers the post-exilic period and includes most of Isaiah xl.–lxvi., but almost nothing from the Psalms. Nearly half the volume is given to the Maccabean period and later, and it includes extracts from the Apocrypha and Josephus.

The teaching of the Old Testament to children demands a special method, and the manner of its introduction to them deserves special consideration. There is not much literature on this subject to choose from. Some valuable pages in Principal Garvie's *Old Testament in the Sunday School* may be referred to, but the book is chiefly a teacher's guide to his own study of the Old Testament. The papers read at a conference of secondary school teachers in 1912, supply a small amount of suggestive material.[1] The views expressed were necessarily conflicting. One speaker made the challenging statement that as a book of religion and morals the Old Testament is an ideal text-book for children.

[1] *Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools*, edited by N. P. Wood. Cambridge. 1912.

General stress was laid on the principle that children should be so taught as not to have anything to unlearn afterwards on the score of history or science. It may, therefore, be observed that there is considerable danger in practice in the application of this principle. How to teach the Old Testament comes to mean, for some, how to neutralise the teaching of the Old Testament. God did not drown people in the Flood; God did not tempt Abraham to sacrifice Isaac; God did not harden Pharaoh's heart, and so forth. Surely there is evident a central truth in each of the narratives here referred to, which it is a teacher's duty to find and to lay stress upon.

Another work by C. G. Montefiore, intended for the use of Jewish parents and children, deserves mention in this connexion.[1] It is a well-printed edition of large portions of the Old Testament, with comments and reflections. Volume I. is the children's part. It includes Genesis and the historical books to the time of Nehemiah, with extracts from Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Babylonian Isaiah. It implants in the reader's mind a conviction of the value of the old stories here re-told, yet makes it clear that much in them belongs to a stage of development now past and so is of no authority for us. Volume II. is for grown-up readers. It includes the Wisdom literature, some prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah), the Psalms and extracts from the Apocrypha. The defects of the Old Testament that chiefly call forth the editor's condemnation are "its national narrowness of vision towards those who were beyond its pale, its fierceness of antagonism towards its enemies." Some will feel that more allowance might be made for the circumstances of the authors of the condemned passages and books and for the sufferings and needs of their first readers.

W. B. Stevenson.

[1] *The Bible for Home Reading*, edited by C. G. Montefiore. 1st edition, 1896–1899.

THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

One of the first and most urgent necessities in examining the early documents of religion is to gain a proper perspective with regard to them. We need to know exactly what early writers meant, and what primitive peoples believed, if we can find it out. That being so, we might as well say at first as at last that, in this self-portrayal of Jehovah as the God of Israel we have not a formal declaration of the essential unity of God. There are instances in the Old Testament in which the solitariness and oneness of God are taught in clear and categorical terms, but that is not the case here. This is no command laid upon the intellect of Israel to recognise no other God than Jehovah: it is a command laid upon her conscience to worship no other God than Him.

It is obvious that this commandment is made for a primitive people. It shares in the theological outlook of other primitive peoples. It was thought that each nation had its own peculiar God, who led it, rewarded it, punished it, protected it, and upon whose continual providence the nation could rely. The nation must give obedience to no other God, and the God must, in most cases at any rate, give his help to no other nation. This commandment was made in Israel to preserve the purity of her worship, and it is therefore perfectly natural to find Jehovah interpreted in an exclusively national sense. He was the God of Israel, just as Chemosh was the god of Ammon, and Amon-Ra the god of Egypt. Other nations are permitted to worship their own gods: Israel must worship Jehovah, on pain of severe punishment if she dares to do otherwise.

Chemosh, Amon-Ra, Jehovah and all the other national gods were conceived of as different beings. They were not

merely different names for the same God. They were, more or less, the personifications of the qualities of the nations whose gods they happened to be. They had a different past behind them. They stood for different ethical qualities. They had a different future in front of them. It was found possible for God to begin His revelation as Jehovah, the God of Israel, and end it as the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Chemosh, the God of Ammon, began and ended as Chemosh, the God of Ammon. Amon-Ra, the God of Egypt, began and ended as Amon-Ra, the God of Egypt. There was something in Israel and in the purpose of God that could allow Jehovah-worship to begin with crude origins and end as the pure worship of the God of Christ.

We are shown many things in this first commandment. We are shown in it the secret and meaning of worship, for one thing. Religion depends upon fellowship between a revealed God and the people to whom He is revealed. True worship is the worship of God in spirit and in truth. It depends upon God. Men make Gods of their own, it is true, but that is not their fault. It is the result of the fact that they are made in the image of God, and can never escape from being in His likeness. The business of making men pure worshippers is God's business. He must show us what He is really like. There is nothing that will make God plain to us unless He makes Himself plain. To know God in a way that shall demand our worship and act upon our character demands that He shall be defined. An intelligent man cannot pray to the earth or the moon or the stars, or to humanity, or to himself. He can pray only to a God who is personal, powerful, distinct. We must be able, in order to make religious worship possible, to cut God off, in thought, from everything else and everybody else in the world. The basis of a progressive religion is a God who is capable of definition.

And then also it must be shown how we can worship God. Some relationship must exist between us, some action on God's part which makes Him plain.

All this is given in the first commandment. We have the self-disclosure of God: I am Jehovah. We have the relationship between God and men: I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. We have the duty of man—the zealous preservation of the worship of the God of his fathers: thou shalt worship no other God before me. All that is the foundation-stone upon which the religion of Israel was built up, and indeed the Christian religion as well.

One of the grandest witnesses to the power and glory of God has been supplied by modern historical science. It shows that religion began in animism, in some form of spirit worship, and then passed through polytheism and henotheism into monotheism, and thence into Christianity, with its loftier and ever loftier possibilities of conceiving the divine purpose. And along all that line the movement of the race can be tracked, with here and there a cross where a martyr died for truth, and here and there an open grave where some new truth was learned. Many religions have died, but religion has been resurrected. The death pangs of religions have been the pangs which gave to nobler faiths their birth. Jehovah's relation with Israel began far back, perhaps in Egypt. It was made real at Sinai, if not before. He made His home on the mountain-top, and was conceived in such a materialistic way, that He can be said to have hidden Moses in the cleft of a rock, so that the patriarch should not see His face. He was the God of battle,—

> Jehovah is a man of war
> Jehovah is His name,—

and so the people regarded Him as a mighty warrior when He thundered and lightened on Sinai. He is regarded as

having His home in Sinai, and travelling with the people of Israel in the ark into Canaan, being carried into battle like a mascot, and giving victory, gradually spreading His power over Palestine and bringing the local gods under His sway, until His sovereignty is regarded as extending over the whole land. But that is not all. Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah have all something to teach us. And then we have in Second Isaiah the conception of the universal and absolute sovereignty of God, the creative power of a deity who can make the worlds with a word. And just as the sovereignty of Jehovah was more fully understood, until He was recognised as the God of all creation, so the insight of the Jews into His moral character became more and more intense. We find rising out of the confused mass of ideas about God, good, bad and indifferent, that we have scattered through the pages of the Old Testament, the idea of a God who is stainless in His righteousness, as far exalted above the sins and caprices of men as the heavens are exalted above the earth, and yet so loving that He can come to a people whose sins are as scarlet, and wash them so that they shall be whiter than snow. And then we have, as the climax of all this, the revelation of God in Christ, and we know that the night of the earth's long winter has passed, and that we have reached the dawn of God's eternal day.

I am Jehovah : it must have taken centuries before God could say that to any company of men. Think of what our prehistoric ancestors were like, living a life little above the level of that of the brute, with not even the rudiments of religion or science in them, worshipping their own shadows, with no God greater than the God who dwelt in the tree and in the running brook, and who brought disaster upon men by the leaf driven across their path by the wind ; and then think of their sons, who had learned that God was the High and Lofty One, who inhabiteth eternity, whose name

is Holy, the King Eternal, Invisible, Immortal, the Only Wise God, the King of kings and Lord of lords ; and then think of the grandeur of God's disciplining of the race, that He could bring so much out of so little. God revealed Himself to the life and in the life of the children of Israel long before they could comprehend Him by the aid of the intellect. History is not only the medium of God's revealing acts : it is part and parcel of the revelation. All truths which affect conduct have to be learned in the school of experience long before they can be defined. The child has to learn by bitter experience that fire burns before it can give an account of the meaning of heat. Men had to learn in their actual dealings with each other that it was wrong to steal and to commit adultery and to take life, long before they could formulate laws about these things or define the meaning of the sacredness of property, or marriage, or life. In the same way, the children of Israel learned in many ways the meaning of God. They were, to begin with, rude and uncivilised. Jacob was an idolater, and thought that he could command the presence of God in a pile of stones. Abraham was a polygamist, and was willing to pass off his well-beloved wife as his sister, knowing that he ran the risk of Pharaoh taking her to wife. They knew nothing of science. They knew very little about morality. They knew nothing of the bigger world beyond their own little world. They became slaves to a people who showed the most exacting and most demoralising form of tyranny. And yet Israel became, through the mercy of God, the agents of a new ethic and a new religion. They began as polytheists and nature worshippers, but they found that when they prayed to the sun they received no answer, and when they made requests of the moon they gained no response ; and thus they learned that the sun, the moon and the stars were not God, but only the creatures of God. They learned

that the winds were not God, but only His messengers, and that the flaming fires were not God, but only His ministers. The sea was His, and He made it. It was God who commanded the earth to be formed out of chaos, and the forces of nature to do their work. God, for them, ceased to be human, uncertain, capricious and limited to the earth. He became divine, steadfast, the Lawgiver, the great King, beyond the earth and the creator of it. God is a person, not a tree or a star. God is spirit, apart from and above His world, able to enter into converse with men, to govern them, to lead them and to educate them. The best life in the world has grown out of the belief in that.

This is the great argument for God, the fact that throughout human experience, He has been forcing His way into the life of the race, and leading us on to higher conceptions of ourselves and Himself. The Jews always believed that. Jesus believed it. It was not so much that they believed that God was at the back of the world, a great creative force, as that He was in the world, a great redemptive person. In this first commandment we are shown how that it was in the actual experiences of Israel, in the things that God did for them, and in the words that He spoke to them, that He revealed Himself. He was not a being whom they reached at the end of a long argument. God was not a being hidden behind a cloud, whom they invested with certain attributes. He was a person, intensely alive, showing Himself in every crisis of their national history, delivering them from the power of Pharaoh, consolidating them into a nation at Sinai, going before them by day and bringing up the rear and protecting them from the pursuing enemy by night, slaying Moab and Amalek before them, and giving them a land to dwell in. These were certain facts to go upon. They had been slaves and now they were free men. How had it happened? Historians may say this, and

philosophers may say that, but the children of Israel said that in the facts of their own national life they had tested the reality of the power and love of God. God to them was always Jehovah the Deliverer, who had brought them up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Their creed was based upon the facts of their life. Their theology was the outcome of their experience.

It is upon such a God that worship depends. Worship is the contact of soul with soul, the devotion of person to person. God must be personal. He could not meet men in prayer if He were not. He must be eternal: He cannot be created. A God who comes into being is no God. Far back in the eternities, and beyond them in the further eternities, God has always been, living, watching, loving, creating, building up His kingdom among men. Great and marvellous must be His works, and just and true must be His ways. Infinity, Eternity—these are the necessary qualities of God. When we worship we must know that we are in the presence of the Holy of Holies. In true religion, God must be known as the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End. To love Him, we must stand in awe of Him. To worship Him, we must bend head and heart before Him in complete self-abandonment. Religion is transforming. It is a new creation. It is the breath of God. There are depths in God that we can never fathom, heights that we can never climb, broad spaces that we can never cross over. The basal fact of our faith is not that God loves us, but that He made us. To redeem a world, we need something more than a Gospel of love; we need a Gospel of eternal divinity and eternal power.

I am Jehovah who brought thee up; revelation and deliverance went hand-in-hand. Fact and interpretation marched in step. History was not left to speak for itself. God did not send prophetic words without prophetic deeds.

Every crisis of history was at once the means of God revealing His continued love and grace, and an opportunity for the uprushing of the religious consciousness to learn anew the nature of a delivering God. God never goes back upon His past. Those divine purposes which past history brings into fuller and clearer light shine through all the dark hours of the present world. What God has been, He is still. What He has done, He still does and ever will do. The very disasters we pass through are the means of discipline and education. We must find God in our own experience as our Deliverer, our Rock, our High Tower. We may call Him what we will, but we must trust the God who led us through the night and nerved us so that we withstood the storm. The God who brought His people up out of Egypt can never sell them again into the hands of the Amalekites.

This commandment shows how another requirement of worship is satisfied. We need a revelation of God before we can worship Him. We need to know Him as Spirit. He appears to us. He appears to us in the voice which says "Thou shalt" in the soul. He appears to us in the remorse which brings us to our knees because of a too inglorious past. He appears to us as the light which leads us through a dark world. To know God as a spiritual being, we need to meet Him face to face. It is never enough to think Him out as the cause of the happenings of life. The Hebrews took God for granted. He was more certain to them than the world in which they lived. They argued from God to the world: they did not argue from the world to God. They met Him everywhere. They believed in His power. They met Him in every change in the face of nature, in summer's heat and winter's frost; they met Him in the stars that led them through the wilderness, in the manna that fed them and the water that flowed from the rock to quench their thirst; they met Him in the powers

that thundered and lightened on high, in the firmament over their heads, and the grass under their feet; they met Him in the life of nations: just as He made the sun to rise and brought out the stars by number, and clothed the heavens with blackness and took up the isles as a very little thing, so He made the generations of men to pass before Him. He led Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, brought up Israel out of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir; He had spoken to Abraham, punished Pharaoh, delivered Moses, and sanctified Aaron—He was the living God, Jehovah was His name. He was not entangled in the world, but elevated above it, used it for His purposes, breathed through it His Spirit, so that it could speak of His love and power to men. He could face men and speak to them with a voice louder even than that of thunder, and bring doom and joy to the soul.

And then, again, God must establish a relationship with men. He must bridge the gulf which separates the known from the unknown, so that men can walk over it and take delight in the presence of the Lord. It is not enough to know that God is eternal and personal. It is not enough to know anything or even everything about God, unless we know it in the depths of our own soul. The great thing that the Bible teaches us about God is that He is always in contact with the world of men, butting into their plans, changing them, altering them, helping them here, stopping them there, comforting them now, challenging them at some other time, a God who is eternally alive, throbbing with vitality, showing us His love, His power everywhere, feeling for us, cheering us, encouraging us, speaking to each one, if only we have the eyes to see and the ears to hear. We must find God in our own life, and in our own experience, in that success that filled our mouth with song and our heart with peace, in that trial that brought us to our knees

and made us humble again, in the health that we have obtained out of sickness, in the children who make us young, in the man or woman who fills our home with gladness and joy. In these things we must find our God, and then we shall realise a little of what the Jew felt when he sang the refrain, "I am Jehovah, your God, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." We must not always look too far afield for our God. We must find Him in our own life, see His hand here, learn the meaning of His discipline there, fall down in thanksgiving before Him for His gifts, and then we shall know that He is eternal, personal, a deliverer, a strong Father, and a loving Friend. A God who is not known as the rewarder of those who diligently seek after Him may be a God for philosophers to argue about: He is not a God enshrined in the human heart, before whom we bow in reverence because we are lost in wonder, love and praise.

God is a Saviour, the only Saviour, the Saviour of man from everything by which he can be enthralled. Israel was in bondage to Egypt, but it was a bondage worse than that. It was a bondage to national tyranny, to false worship, to unseemly conduct, to foolish superstition, to everything that dulled the conscience of Israel and blinded her soul. God had to take Israel out of Egypt, and then take Egypt out of Israel. Israel was enslaved, mind, body and soul, and needed to be completely redeemed. God is a Saviour from every evil, from all we need saving from. If we are sick of soul, He heals us. If we are in bondage to superstition, He delivers us. If we are attacked by deadly foes, He is our strength and shield. From whatsoever evil we suffer, whether it be in the world around us, or in the men who oppress us, or in the remorse that ruins us, the action of God is the action of a gracious deliverance and Saviourhood.

Jehovah is the unique and only Saviour. He was so with regard to Israel. He is so with regard to us. Often Israel said, "Mine own hand hath saved me," only to find that, when she trusted to her own hand it had no power whatever to save. The history of Israel is one long course of the alternating of pride and failure, and return to God and success. And we often say that we are rich and increased in goods and have need of nothing, only to find to our dismay that, when we have cast God out of our life, we are wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked. No man can cut God out without being poorer, poorer in intellect, poorer in happiness, poorer in soul.

To Israel, Jehovah was gradually revealed as solitary and alone, not one among many gods, but the one and only God. He is man's only Saviour. Men are His servants, the heavens are His creation, wealth and health and long life and happiness are His gifts. Underneath the whole history of the race are to be found the everlasting arms. He is an oasis in the desert, the shadow of a mighty rock within a weary land. The deliverance of Israel from the might of the Egyptians was but the most spectacular part of a deliverance that was always hers. Alone, Jehovah had put to a mockery the boasted might of Egypt's gods; alone, He had subdued the armies of Pharaoh; when Israel was pursued and there was none to deliver, Jehovah alone had rescued the people and given them a land to dwell in; alone He cured them of idolatry, brought them to a life of decency and honour, delivered them from lawlessness and put His law into their hearts, was with them in all their national calamities, and used all these events as a purging influence upon their character and their national life. That is how God acts, has always acted, and always will act. The race which was created by Him cannot live apart from Him. If we are determined to live without Him, He is determined

not to live without us. The worst form of atheism is to find God in creation, but not in history. The worst infidelity is to look upon God as a manufacturer of worlds and forget that He is a maker of souls. No people lives apart from God, because He lives apart from no people. He is a Deliverer and a Saviour, and if we do not see Him in His greatness as a deliverer, we are made to see Him in His greatness as a destroyer. Many of us have to go into captivity in order to be brought forth again.

Such is God, and if God be such, what a demand is made of man! "Thou shalt serve no other gods before Me. Thou shalt obey nothing that robs you of Me, nothing which takes you from Me, nothing which makes you endeavour to live apart from Me. That is the way to your freedom."

H. J. Flowers.

THE SECRET EXPERIENCES OF THE PROPHETS.[1]

12. So far, we have been dealing with the external manifestations of prophetic ecstasy. Now let us turn to their inner life. Our first observation here must be the same as that which we have already made, viz., the prophets were animated by a religious *passion* of very great intensity. "*I have been zealous for the Lord of hosts,*" says Elijah, describing his own life and work. And they are all the same, from the first to the last of them, all filled only by the one thought of the cause of their God. And what they conceive their God to be, overwhelming in His anger and in His love, they themselves are—all temperamental, at full tension. It is this passion which, at the lower stage, is worked up by music and dance, by violent crying and singing. It was religious passion also that filled the prophets

[1] By Professor Hermann Gunkel, being the second of three introductory essays in Prof. Hans Schmidt's *Die Grossen Propheten*, Göttingen, 1923.

of the higher order, although they disdained these outward aids. But when the excitation has reached its climax, then the ecstasy appears (1 Kings xviii. 29).

The science of Psychology does not see in religious ecstasy any inexplicable mystery. It is aware there have been many religious ecstatics in the world besides the prophets, and that every human emotion is capable of being raised to the pitch of ecstasy. When such an ecstasy seizes him, the prophet has all the experiences and does all the things we have described. He loses command of his limbs : he staggers and stutters like a drunken man ; his sensitiveness to pain is diminished or suspended : his ordinary sense of what is decent deserts him ; he feels an impulse to do all kinds of strange actions and seems to have become insane : a feeling of infinite strength possesses him—he can run and leap more than an ordinary person can do : strange emotions and ideas come over him and mingle with what was already in his mind or what his surroundings present to his senses : he is seized by that peculiar sensation of hovering which we know from our own dreams : he feels as if the " spirit " had grasped him by the hair and were carrying him between heaven and earth : or he has a strange taste in his mouth (Ezek. iii. 2) : or he feels a heavy pressure on his head—Jahveh's hand has seized him (1 Kings xviii. 46) and lies heavy upon him (2 Kings iii. 15 ; Ezek. iii. 22) : he feels as if his lips were being touched by Jahveh's hand, or seared with a glowing coal (Jer. i. 9 ; Isa. vi. 7) : he believes he has been awakened from sleep by the divine hand (1 Kings xix. 5, 7 ; Zech. iv. 1) or shaken up (Dan. x. 10) and set on his feet (Ezek. ii. 2). It must have been very usual for the prophet's eye to *see visions*. The " Seers," i.e., visionaries, familiar in ancient Israel, and whose chief representative was Samuel (1 Sam. ix. 9), had at an early stage coalesced with the prophets. With special frequency

the prophet feels himself brought into Jahveh's council and sees there the beings who surround the divine throne and discuss with Jahveh the affairs of his kingdom (1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi.). Besides the visions, there are *sounds* which the prophet hears and which he interprets according to the faith of his time. He hears a tremendous crashing noise and is convinced that he has heard the noise of the chariot of God (Ezek. iii. 12). In the sound of a trumpet he believes he hears the noise of the war that is to be (Jer. iv. 19); or he hears the voice of the spirits speaking to him in the air (Isa. xl. 3) or the words spoken in the council of heaven. This last must have been quite common. He only is a prophet, who has stood in God's council (Jer. xxiii. 18, 22). Most frequently, of course, it is the words of Jahveh Himself that the ecstatic hears. He feels himself to be Jahveh's messenger with the duty of announcing to whom it may concern the divine will which he has thus learned. How normal sensation is mixed with what is visionary in such revelations, may be learned from the vision of Amos. Standing beside the altar at Bethel, he suddenly sees God Himself on the altar (viii. 1). Frequently it is very loud sounds and very dazzling lights that the prophet hears and sees (Isa. vi. 3; Ezek. i. 24; iii. 12; x. 5); a noise like the surge of mighty waters, or the tumultuous noise of a whole people (Isa. xvii. 12), or the light of God outshining a thousand times all earthly light (Ezek. i.; Dan. x. 5). Sometimes, too, in his ecstasy the prophet must speak either without or even against his will (1 Kings xiii. 20). Under such circumstances he is utterly unable to speak in other words than those which are given him (Num. xxii. 18; xxiii. 12; 1 Kings xxii. 14).

13. In all these manifestations of ecstasy both prophets and people believed they recognised the act of God. The investigator is in no way surprised at this, for he knows

that wherever such phenomena are found all over the world, there also is the conviction that they are due to the deity. How should men in these ancient days think differently? Whoever experiences such states feels clearly that something alien has entered into him—something higher that masters him. He himself has not produced these things, they have overmastered him (Jer. xx. 7). Even the onlooker sees something mysterious in these states. Whoever watched the prophets staggering about, plunging and rushing and falling in helplessness and exhaustion, could not doubt they had been "*changed into other men*" (1 Sam. x. 6), and that a power not themselves had taken hold of them. These phenomena must be the manifestations of another Being, similar to the human soul, but not the soul, more than the soul. They were manifestations of the divinity that works so marvellously in man. This inference is so easy and natural, that it was universal throughout antiquity, and it reappears from time to time amongst ourselves. The ancient Israelite believed so too. He referred the ecstasy of the prophets to Jahveh's spirit. By "spirit" was meant in Hebrew antiquity that divine power which found expression in these and similar phenomena. When Samson meets a lion in the way, Jahveh's spirit comes upon him, and although he has no weapon, he seizes the beast and tears it to pieces (Judges xiv. 6). When Saul hears of the degrading conditions imposed by a foreign king on an Israelite city, Jahveh's spirit comes upon him, and in overmastering rage he hews his oxen in pieces and sends these as a summons for a gathering of all Israel (1 Sam. xi. 6). To such a spirit were attributed things both good and evil. Men spoke of a spirit of wisdom, of courage, but also of a spirit of uncleanness and drunkenness. Even insanity was looked upon as the effect of an *evil spirit from Jahveh*, and the

madman was considered sacred (1 Sam. xxi. 14). According to the belief current in Israel, God's spirit was the cause of all that found expression in any superhuman mysterious power in man—all that was awful and terrible in human life, and the most characteristic result of the spirit is, in the Old Testament, the hithnabbe'—the prophetic state. The prophet is "the man of the spirit" (Hosea ix. 7).

14. It must of course be said emphatically, that modern science meets this interpretation of the prophetic state with an unqualified denial. Whilst the modern investigator must inevitably try to understand such phenomena psychologically, the ancient mind sees in them simply a divine marvel. But just because the ancient mind read them thus, it attributed to these things and persons the highest possible value. With awe and wonder the pious Israelite sees and hears the prophets, in the full conviction that the deity is drawing near to him in these persons with a message meant for him. However strange the conduct of the prophet, however mysterious his words, they must contain a profound meaning which he must seek to understand. In the early Christian communities, there stood alongside the speaker in tongues, who in his ecstasy uttered all kinds of unintelligible sounds, the interpreter who was able to give to these strange tongues an intelligible meaning, worthy of God (1 Cor. xii. 10). And what of the *self-consciousness* of the prophets, who like the people were certain that Jahveh Himself was working in them? What a consciousness such a man must have had! Under the thrill of this conviction, the personality of the ecstatic could entirely disappear and the deity take complete possession of him, so that he could now act and speak as God! The "I" that speaks through him is God Himself! He knows what God knows (Num. xxiv. 16). The thoughts that come to him are God's thoughts, and the surging sea

of emotions that flood his soul is the emotion of God! "*I am full of the fury of the Lord*" (Jer. vi. 11). And it is natural that the prophet should unconsciously interpret what he experiences in his ecstasy in accordance with what others and himself expect. This mingling of experience and interpretation is specially clear in the dream visions (Gen. xx. 3; xxxvii. 5; Dan. ii.; Num. xii. 6; Deut. xiii. 2; Joel iii. 1; Enoch xiii. 7. Jeremiah expresses contempt for dreams xxiii. 25). Zechariah sees in a night vision four horns and four smiths: the added explanation interprets the horns as the four world empires and the smiths are called to sharpen the scythes (reading l^{e}hahed 'ittîm) in order to cut off the horns (Zech. ii. 1). In most cases, however, experience and interpretation are so completely intertwined, that it is hardly possible to separate them.

15. Seeing that this was the current estimate of the prophets in ancient Israel, we can understand that they were frequently consulted on all manner of questions. The prophets became the givers of oracles. This oracular element is of great importance for the understanding of both religion and prophecy among the Hebrews. In antiquity, men felt often and deeply how little they knew. The limits of the knowledge that was possible to man were not so firmly drawn as they are to-day. But when he was at a loss, he ran to his deity like a child to his parents, and the "oracles" were to the people of antiquity and to the Hebrews an integral part of religion. At first it was, of course, quite definite questions arising out of daily life that were asked. What was the meaning of that strange dream? (Gen. xli.). Shall I recover from my illness? (2 Kings i.). Will the city be able to withstand the siege? (2 Kings vii. 1). Will the enterprise succeed? (Judges xviii. 5). At the beginning of the battle the question is,

Shall we win ? (1 Sam. xiv. 18), at the close, Shall we pursue ? (1 Sam. xiv. 37). In all such cases it was customary to inquire of the deity, and there were a great variety of ways to obtain information from Jahveh. The method commonly taken was to ask the "man of God," the confidant of the deity. Among these "men of God," who were numerous and of many types in Israel, were the prophets. As most of the questions which troubled men concerned the future, the prophets were accustomed to speak of the future. To this extent the traditional meaning of the word "prophet" as synonymous with "foreteller" is after all accurate. There is none among the literary prophets whose first word was not an announcement of a future event. The divine commission of a prophet is recognised by the fact that his word comes true (Deut. xviii. 22; Zech. ii. 13) and the man of God might add a *counsel*. He must have often been asked what was to be done in a definite case. He was also credited with knowledge of things far distant: he was able in the spirit to go far afield (2 Kings v. 26). Ezekiel claimed to be able to announce in distant Babylon things he had seen in his ecstasy happening in Jerusalem (chap. viii.), and Elisha knew the very words the King of Syria spoke in his bedchamber (2 Kings vi. 12). And the prophet could even see into the heart of man (1 Sam. ix. 19; 1 Cor. xiv. 24).

16. But the prophet can not only foretell events and give counsel and intercede (2 Kings xix. 4), he can also bring the future events to pass. For it is God's word that he speaks, and that is no empty sound—it is active and creative. As the rain returns not till it has refreshed the ground, so God's word returns not to Him void (Isa. lv. 10). But he into whose lips this word has been put is able in God's name to lay commands on the powers of the world. He has power over death and life (2 Kings i.; Jer. xxviii.

16). He can issue commands to peoples and empires and tell them what they must do. Jeremiah (i. 10) feels himself to be Jahveh's viceroy in the world. He has seen himself in vision holding out Jahveh's cup to the nations that they might drink to themselves destruction (xxv. 15). And that great prophet who tells his life and sufferings in Deutero-Isaiah calls himself the servant, the minister of Jahveh. The word of God that the prophet speaks is "like fire, like a hammer that breaks rocks" (Jer. xxiii. 29).

17. In like manner, it was believed that the prophets, as the favourites of God, had at command many mysterious powers. Numerous tales were current regarding Elijah, Elisha and even Isaiah. There was believed to be something like magic even about their persons. Contact with a dead boy restored the latter to life (1 Kings xvii. 21). Magical power could pass from the prophet's person into the mantle which he usually wore. He could strike with it the water of a river, and the water parted asunder (2 Kings ii. 8). He cast it upon another person, and that person had to follow whether he would or no (1 Kings xix. 19). It is clear that many of these narratives are popular tales, for it is significant that the biography of Jeremiah, included in his book, which is extraordinarily faithful, contains no such magical deeds concerning him.[1] But it would be a mistake to suppose that the belief in the miraculous power of the prophet is a product of later time. As a matter of fact the prophets themselves did things, by which they professed not only to indicate the future, but also to bring it to pass, and which therefore are closely allied to magic. Elisha bequeaths to his people victories over the Syrians, by grasping the king's hands and making him shoot an arrow towards the east, uttering the conjuring

[1] Two miracles are recorded in Jer. xxviii.; but neither is magical. Hananiah dies at the word of Jeremiah.

words: "*An arrow of victory from Jahveh: an arrow of victory over Syria*" (2 Kings xiii. 17). Then the king is told to strike the ground with the arrows, and as often as he strikes the ground, so many victories he will gain (v. 19). And even Jeremiah makes one of his disciples read aloud a curse upon Babylon and then throw the roll into the Euphrates (Jer. li. 59); Ezekiel tells us that there were, in the lower grades of prophecy, prophetesses able by their magic to "catch souls," i.e., to bring back into the body the departing souls of the sick, and it is significant that Ezekiel himself, while he condemns these sorceresses, has no doubt as to their magical powers (xiii. 17).

HERMANN GUNKEL.

(*To be continued.*)

WRONG CHAPTER AND VERSE DIVISIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IT is curious what slaves most of us are to custom. We quickly enslave ourselves to our accustomed routine. The Revised Version of the New Testament stirred one pious brother to remark that the King James Version was good enough for the Apostle Paul and it was good enough for him. And yet for nearly fifty years it was not certain whether the King James Version or the Geneva would win the day. When Erasmus published in 1516 his first Greek New Testament, he printed side by side with the Greek text a Latin translation and some notes. In his edition of 1527 he put in also the Latin Vulgate which had for centuries held the field in the West. But this Latin Vulgate of Jerome for many years met a storm of abuse from those who preferred the Old Latin versions. The King James Version which the Revised Version challenged in 1881 had the verses printed separately as if each verse was a separate

paragraph. The effect of this way of printing the text was to destroy all sense of connexion between the verses. Each verse stood out as a thing to itself. Many people have expressed great surprise when it first dawned upon them that there was any grammatical or logical connexion between the verses. Paragraph marks were indeed printed here and there, but these marks made little impression upon the average reader.

The Revised Version put both chapter and verse divisions on the margin and printed the text in paragraphs according to the sense. This courageous act of itself was enough to justify the work of the Revisers if they had done nothing else. But, when the American Standard Version appeared in 1901, the chapter and verse divisions crept back into the text, only the paragraphs were retained and the verses were printed in the body of the text. This plan made the beginning and end of each verse easier to detect, but made some interruption in the easy reading of the text. Moffatt places the verses on the margin while Goodspeed drops both chapters and verses to the bottom of the page with no interruption at all to the flow of the narrative. But many good people are already troubled over this liberty with the verse divisions in the Bible. It may be worth while to recount the history of this matter.

It seems hardly necessary to state that our verse divisions come after the age of printing. They appear in no Greek manuscript. The Masoretic verses of the Old Testament were first numbered by Rabbi Isaac Nathan for use in his Hebrew Concordance, finished in 1448 and printed in 1524 at Venice. These Masoretic verses were first numbered by Arabic figures in 1509 in the *Quincuplex Psalterium*. In 1528 Sanctes Pagninus printed at Lyons a Latin translation of the whole Bible with verse divisions. "But in the Apocrypha and the New Testament his divi-

sion was very different from ours, the verses being twice or three times as long ; and it seems to have been followed in no other edition." (Ezra Abbot, *On the Division of the Greek New Testament into Verses, Critical Essays*, 1888, p. 465).

Our New Testament verse divisions were made by Robert Stephens as he made a horse-back journey, *inter equitandum*, "while riding," from Paris to Lyons. One old commentator, after labouring with the verse divisions of Stephens, said : "I think it had been better done on his knees in the closet." It is generally supposed that Stephens did the work while riding to relieve the tedium of the long trip. If he actually did it while jogging along, it is certain that the horse gave some bumps in the wrong place. But Gregory (*Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 474) challenges this interpretation and thinks that all that is meant is that he made the verse divisions during the stops for rest while on the journey : "During the morning he may have rested a while at a wayside inn, and certainly at noon he will have done so. And again at night he doubtless drew out his little pocket edition and 'divided' away until it was time to sleep." Be that as it may, we know that Erasmus had no verse divisions in his Greek New Testament. Why did Stephens make his verse divisions for the edition of 1551 ? He had none in his previous editions of 1546, 1549, 1550 (his "royal edition"). He was at work on a Concordance of the New Testament, published by his son Henri in 1594. It was absolutely necessary to have verse divisions in order to give proper references in his concordance. So he proceeded to make verse divisions for his own convenience and for the confusion of readers of the New Testament ever since. They do help preachers find their texts, but they hinder both preachers and people from grasping the sense of a passage.

The first use of Stephens's verses was made by him in the fourth edition of his Greek New Testament in 1551. The Greek text was a reprint of the 1550 edition Greek text with the Greek in the middle column, the Latin translation of Erasmus on the outer side, and the Latin Vulgate on the inner side of the page. The Arabic verse numbers come between the Greek and the Latin translation of Erasmus. J. Rendel Harris (*Some Notes on the Verse-Divisions of the New Testament*, Journal of Biblical Literature, 1900, Part II., p. 117 f.) shows that Stephens made the verse divisions on the Latin Vulgate New Testament which was used as a printers' copy for his Greek New Testament of 1551. In the Stephens Vulgate of 1545 there is a verse in Acts ii. 19 and 20 not in the Greek or Latin of Stephens's 1551 New Testament. Hence the printer prints 19 and 20 together for the verse on which Stephens marked it is absent. That missing verse is in the Sixtine Vulgate of 1590 : *et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes, Tolle inimicum nostrum.* There is another case just like it with double numeration in the Stephens New Testament of 1551. It is Acts xxiii. 25 and 26. It is extant as the missing verse 25 in the Clementine Vulgate of 1592 : *Timuit enim ne forte raperent eum Judœi, et occiderent, et ipse postea calumniam sustineret, tanquam accepturus pecuniam.* Nestle made this discovery. " Moreover, the Antwerp Polyglot of 1571 expressly says, in printing this verse from the Latin with no counterpart in Greek or Syriac ; '*deest* 25 *versus* ' " (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The proof is thus plain that Stephens made his verse divisions on a Latin Vulgate New Testament and gave this to the printer to use in making the verse divisions for the Greek New Testament of 1551. No printed New Testament in Greek or Latin had these divisions before 1551, so far as any record exists.

Once started, however, it was hard to stop the innovation. In 1552 Stephens printed a French New Testament with the verse divisions, the French version of Olivetan revised by Calvin. Abbot (*op. cit.*, p. 466) gives the dates for these early editions with verse divisions. The Italian followed in 1555, Paschale's version. The first Dutch version with the verses was that by Ctematius in 1556. The first English New Testament with verse divisions was that by William Whittingham, printed at Geneva in 1557. The first whole English Bible with the verses was the Geneva Bible of 1560. The first whole Bible to have the verse divisions of Stephens was his edition of the Latin Vulgate of 1555 at Geneva (made for his Latin Concordance of the same date, 1555).

Other Greek New Testaments followed suit with the verse divisions. The Elzevir Greek New Testament of 1633, the Textus Receptus edition, was the first one that had the verses divided up, a lamentable innovation. It was bad enough to have the verse divisions at all, but this was the acme of perversity in destroying the sense. And it has kept up till 1881. "Beza deviated much more frequently from the verse divisions of Robert Stephens; and his editions had great influence in giving currency to the use of the divisions into verses, which soon became general. His variations from the divisions of Stephens were largely followed by later editors, especially by the Elzevirs, who also introduced others of their own. Others still will be found in the early modern translations" (Abbot, *Critical Essays*, p. 466). Gregory greatly deplores (*Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 475) the variations in different Greek New Testaments and versions. Abbot thinks that the absence of any critical examination of these variations in verse enumeration is largely due to the extreme rarity of Stephens's edition of 1551, "which has the best right

to be regarded as the standard, from which an editor should not deviate in marking the beginning of a verse without noting the change, and then only for very strong reasons" (*op. cit.*, p. 467). My own experience in making references over and over again to the verses in the Greek New Testament (see my *Grammar of the Greek N. T. in the Light of Historical Research*) bears out the charge that Abbot makes. I found it exceedingly difficult to feel sure that the verse given in any text was the one accepted generally. "The want of agreement in different editions, leading of course to discrepancies in concordances, dictionaries, and other books of references, often occasions doubt and perplexity." Abbot took about fifty of the chief editions and translations of the New Testament and noted variations in the different editions. It is an astonishing list on eight large, closely-printed pages. But Abbot adds: "This list is incomplete." Gregory (*op. cit.*, p. 475) wishes that some theologian would carry on what Abbot began so well and get all the data "showing where false divisions have crept in," and then that "all theologians would correct their New Testaments in whatever language according to the one standard of Estienne's (Stephens's) edition of 1551." That is a greatly desirable goal, but one hardly likely of realisation.

But enough has been said to make it plain how comparatively recent the whole matter of verse divisions in the New Testament really is. My sympathies are wholly with those editors who place the numbers in the margin instead of in the text and who use paragraphs and print both the Greek and the English text in a way to help one understand the sense of the passage. The custom of verse divisions arose as a convenience for reference in the use of a concordance. It has to be kept up because of convenience to-day. It is a necessary evil, to be sure, but it

is an evil that one has to endure, but with as many limitations as possible. One cannot resist the feeling that, if we had to have verse divisions, the thing ought to have been done by one thoroughly competent, in the first place, and by one who would take the time to do it carefully and with as much regard as possible to the sentence and the sense. It is a work of supererogation now to point out the hundreds and hundreds of verse divisions in the New Testament that try the soul of any man who loves a sentence with all its balanced and proportioned members. The work was poorly done by Robert Stephens who was a printer and not a real scholar. He did it in a hurry and in a more or less mechanical manner. It was done on the Latin Vulgate first as a printer's copy and then transferred to the Greek text. It was a late Latin Vulgate text and a late Greek text. The critical Greek text of modern scholars has had to drop out a number of verses like Acts viii. 37. But what has been done has been done and cannot now be undone. The only thing open to us now is to manage the verse divisions with as little damage to the understanding of the New Testament as possible. There is absolutely nothing sacrosanct about it. It has been of some service, but at a fearful cost to the right apprehension of the New Testament.

A few examples of poor verse divisions may suffice to make the point plain: Take 2 Timothy, for instance. A needless verse is i. 4, which breaks right into the middle of the closely-knit sentence. The same thing is true of i. 11. But a worse example is seen in i. 17 and 18 where the sense is interrupted by a full stop in the King James Version. The Revised Version has it right with a parenthesis, but no verse division is permissible here. In ii. 25 the verse breaks up a clause, one half of it in verse 24 and the other half in verse 25. Verse 24 surely should end with " oppose

themselves," not with "patient," with the semi-colon, not with the comma. In the same way iii. 3 is a needless verse division and interrupts seriously the group of adjectives. So also iii. 7 should go with iii. 6. These are the flagrant instances in a short epistle where the sense is seriously interrupted by the verse paragraphs in the King James Version. Schaff (*op. cit.*, p. 237) has not put the case too strongly when he says: "The versicular division is injudicious, and breaks up the text, sometimes in the middle of a sentence, into fragments, instead of presenting it in natural sections; but it is convenient for reference, and has become indispensable by long use. The English Revision judiciously combines both methods." The English Revision uses sense paragraphs with verse divisions in the margin, a much better plan than that of the American Standard Version with the Arabic numbers in the body of the paragraph.

The chapter divisions are older and do not disturb the sense so seriously and so frequently, though there are flagrant blunders here also. Our modern chapters were divided by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1228. He seems to have made the chapter divisions about 1204 or 1205. Gregory (*Canon and Text of the New Testament*, p. 473) says that this division in chapters by Langton got into no Greek manuscripts of the New Testament save a few late minuscules in the West. Langton, before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the doctors of the new University of Paris who were at work on purifying the text of the Vulgate. He afterwards became the leader of the barons in their contest with King John. His chapters were put into the Latin Vulgate. The Greek manuscripts (cursives) regularly had the Greek chapters while a very few of them, as already stated, had these Latin chapters of Langton, and a few

(cursives) had both the Greek and the Latin chapters. About 1243 Hugo of St. Caro with a number of other learned men produced a concordance to the Latin Vulgate which used the chapters of Langton with seven other divisions in each chapter except the short chapter indicated by the letters A B C D E F G. These letters appear on the margin of the Stephens-Erasmus Vulgate New Testament of 1545, next to the Vulgate. The Langton chapters are indicated by Roman letters. In the Stephens-Langton Vulgate New Testament of 1555 both the A B C D E F G divisions and the Stephens Arabic verse enumeration occur, but the Arabic numbers occur in the text. In the Stephens Greek New Testament of 1551 only the Arabic verse divisions occur, but each verse, alas, is a paragraph. The Langton chapter divisions are undoubtedly useful, though some are too long and some are too short and others break into the middle of a sense paragraph. It is easy for the average reader to run through the Revised New Testament and note some of these interruptions of the paragraph. A case in point is Matthew x. 1, which belongs in sense with ix. 38. Another is Matthew xx. 1 which cuts right into the speech of Jesus in reply to Peter. Matthew xxvi. is a very long chapter (75 verses) like Luke i. (80 verses). Mark ix. 1 clearly belongs to the preceding paragraph. In Acts vii. 1 the chapter division breaks right into the trial of Stephen. Acts viii. 1*a* belongs to the preceding paragraph (bad version division also). Acts xxii. 30 surely should be xxiii. 1. 2 Corinthians ii. 1 breaks into the paragraph, as is true of 2 Corinthians vi 1 and vii. 1. The same thing is true of Colossians iv. 1. One of the very worst chapter divisions is Hebrews xii. 1, which separates Jesus from the list of heroes of faith in chapter ii. Surely the new chapter had better begin at xii. 4. And Revelation xxii. 1 ought to start at xxii. 6 and not cut into the wonderful

pictures of heaven. These examples are enough to show the immense advantage of the paragraph divisions according to sense over the fixed chapter divisions of Langton. And yet we are shut up now to the actual use of these mechanical chapters.

But there were chapter divisions long before Langton. The Greek chapters (*κεφάλαια*) are very old, how old we do not know, but they do not correspond at all with those made by Langton for the Latin Vulgate. It is not known who made the large Greek chapters. Our oldest Greek documents have these chapter divisions on the margin. In fact, Codex Vaticanus (B) gives two separate systems of chapters for Acts, Paul's Epistles, and the Catholic Epistles. Euthalius is not the author of these sections. He merely applied a system already old for the church lessons. The Apocalypse received no chapter division, so far as known, apart from that in the commentary of Andrew of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a very artificial arrangement. For the Gospels Clement of Alexandria spoke of pericopes (*περικοπαί*), Tertullian of *capitula*, Dionysius of Alexandria of *κεφάλαια*. Origen used *περί* for sections. The *τίτλοι* found in A C N R Z are interesting because the titles of the chapters appear in tables at the beginning of each Gospel or at the top of the page. These Greek chapters number 68 for Matthew, 48 for Mark, 83 for Luke, and 18 for John. They vary greatly in length. In Matthew 55 there are only a dozen lines, while 56 has over ninety.

There was a still further effort made to enable the reader to refer from one Gospel to another. This arrangement is called the Eusebian (Ammonian) sections and canons. The plan of Ammonius was to write the parallel sections beside each other. But Eusebius made sections or little chapters in each Gospel (355 for Matthew, 233 for Mark, 342 for Luke, 232 for John). Then he had ten canons.

The first contains a list where all four Gospels agree. The second has the passages where Matthew, Mark and Luke agree, the third where Matthew, Luke, and John agree, the fourth where Matthew, Mark, and John agree. Then come sections where two Gospels agree and finally the tenth canon has passages where each Gospel stands alone. It was an ingenious scheme and was found very useful. Eusebius put on the margin in red ink the number of the canon in which the passage is found. The reader could turn to the number of the canon and then to the Gospel or Gospels referred to by the numbers. It was a harmony of the Gospels in skeleton form and served a useful purpose.

But we are now under the regime of Langton's chapters and of Stephens's verses and can only make the best of it. We owe it to all students and readers of the New Testament to throw as few difficulties in their way as possible when they turn to the New Testament for light and leading. One can find a full presentation of the facts about the chapters in Gregory's *Prolegomena* (pp. 140–166) to Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce* (editio octava) and of the verses also (pp. 166–182) where he gives chapter xx. of Ezra Abbot's *Critical Essays* with his invaluable data. Each reader to-day is supposed to be on his guard against the mechanical chapters and verses which, like barnacles, have fastened upon the New Testament.

The division into chapters and verses was objected to as long ago as John Locke (died 1704), who said in his *Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles by Consulting St. Paul Himself*: "The dividing of them into Chapters and Verses, as we have done, whereby they are so chop'd and minc'd, and as they are now Printed, stand so broken and divided, that not only the Common People take the Verses usually for distinct Aphorisms, but even Men of more advanc'd Knowledge in reading them, lose

very much of the strength and force of the Coherence, and the Light that depends on it." But a habit is a habit. If we can get people to read the New Testament, we can ignore the chapters and the verses if they occur only in the margin.

A. T. Robertson.

PAULINE RE-ADJUSTMENTS.

I.

This paper is an attempt to discover the historical setting of 2 Timothy iv. 9 ff.

The difficulty of accounting for the details recorded in this section has led to two outstanding explanations of the movements of Paul.

On the one hand it is claimed that the Apostle visited Asia and Macedonia when released from imprisonment at Rome, and that Luke closed the Book of the Acts without recording the visit.

On the other hand this eastward journey with its implied second imprisonment is discountenanced on the ground of no reliable evidence. It is further maintained that the details given in the above section cannot in any possible way be accounted for during one single period of Paul's life as known to us from the Acts and the Epistles.

What is of special interest at present is that in developing this second point of view Dr. Harrison in his recent book [1] reconstructs the story of Paul's life at this time.

He pays particular attention to the material in this section of 2 Timothy, and advocates the view that while the details given are unquestionably Pauline they were originally personal Notes sent by Paul to Timothy, and that they were utilised later on by the *auctor ad Timotheum* who was responsible for the epistle in its present form.

New and interesting though Dr. Harrison's reconstruction is, it does not escape the objection that what is apparently a continued passage is broken up for reconstruction purposes. The

[1] *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, pp. 115–35.

reconstruction, moreover, perpetuates the view that it is impossible to regard the passage as a single whole and account for it during one period of Paul's career.

Is this verdict necessarily final?

It has occurred to the present writer that it might be still possible that Paul wrote most of this passage on a single occasion, and that, in consequence, it can be regarded as an unbroken record of the Apostle's activities during one period of his missionary journeys.

In advocacy of this point of view the writer suggests that 2 Timothy iv. 9–20 has been misplaced by a scribe, and that it originally belonged to the end of 1 Timothy.

The suggested original texts of both Epistles might be indicated as follows :—

(1)

1 Timothy vi. (R.V.).

v. 21.—"which some professing have erred concerning the faith"—

(insert verses 9–20 from 2 Timothy).

"Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me . . . (to) . . . Trophimus I left at Miletus sick"

(the benediction of 1 Timothy vi. 21)

"Grace be with you."

(2)

2 Timothy iv. (R.V.).

vv. 6–8. "For I am already being offered . . . to all that have loved his appearing"

(omit *vv.* 9–20).

vv. 21–2. "Do thy diligence to come before winter . . . Grace be with you."

It will be observed that in the present text of 2 Timothy the phrase "do thy diligence to come" occurs in verses 9 and 21.

It is the present writer's suggestion that the word *σπούδασον* especially led the scribe astray, and that he copied into 2 Timothy verses 9–20 from a manuscript of 1 Timothy.

In some way impossible now to ascertain, but generally acknowledged as within the range of possibility, the scribe's eye

passed from one *σπούδασον* to the other and the misplacement occurred.

Since it would appear to have been a misplacement of a whole column or page of an ancient MS, it is interesting, for example, to find that 2 Timothy iv. 9–20 would about cover exactly a single column of Codex Alexandrinus. The former contains about 168 words, and the latter, assuming that the Plates usually given of these ancient MSS. are of a whole column, contains about 172 words. A column of Codex Vaticanus, in which 2 Timothy is not found, has about 148 words.

Should this suggested misplacement be regarded as possible very interesting results would follow, chief among which would be the possibility of fixing the whole of 2 Timothy iv. 9–20 into that period of Paul's life that immediately followed the Ephesian ministry. This for other reasons than hitherto advanced would obviate the necessity of assuming an eastward journey from Rome to account for Paul's movements as recorded in the Pastorals, and it would also supply a case that might justify a reconsideration of the view that Paul wrote personal Notes to Timothy which ultimately got into the hands of the Paulinist responsible for the present form of the Epistle.

II.

For the purpose, then, of this paper, the remainder of which will be devoted to a consideration of the details in this passage, and which might involve two or three of the ten Paulines, it is submitted that 2 Timothy iv. 9–20 belongs to 1 Timothy, and that it fits the story of Paul's life after leaving Ephesus on the third missionary journey.

Before, however, we come to the passage itself, it might be necessary to indicate that from the present point of view 1 Timothy i. 3, where we are told that Timothy was left at Ephesus, falls into line with the proposed reconstruction. Whether Timothy reached Ephesus straight from Macedonia or *viâ* Corinth might remain a doubtful point, but it would now seem that he must have reached Ephesus before Paul left for Troas and Macedonia.

Dr. Harrison seems to use this detail in his reconstruction of the history, though colour is lent to the view that it is an invention on the part of the Paulinist. That, however, cannot be the

case from the present re-setting of history, for if 2 Timothy iv. 9–20 refers to the third missionary journey, 1 Timothy i. 3 belongs to the same period.

We thus find Paul leaving for Macedonia with Timothy in charge of the Church at Ephesus. On this journey, whatever might be said against the Epistle as a whole coming from the hand of Paul, he writes the passage in question referring first of all to the secession of Demas.

This brings us to the details of the passage, and it is proposed to make only such observations as might be necessary from the new set of circumstances.

1. Demas had forsaken the Apostle and gone to Thessalonica, probably his home. Now in Philemon 24 and Colossians iv. 24 Demas is spoken of as Paul's "fellow-worker." He had therefore not forsaken the apostle when those epistles were written.

This points to the fact that Philemon and Colossians preceded 1 Timothy as at present regarded, and makes even the imprisonment at Cæsarea too late, not to mention that at Rome.

The question of an Ephesian imprisonment is now resurrected, and though certain historical considerations might be advanced from the new setting of history in favour of Ephesus being the place at which Philemon and Colossians were written (cf. obs. 4) it will suffice to indicate that the time of Demas' relapse is a new factor in the case. These two epistles must have preceded the passage in which Paul records that Demas had forsaken him, "having loved this present world," and since that passage was written after Paul had left Ephesus, Philemon and Colossians would appear to have been written during the Ephesian ministry.

Onesimus thus sought refuge at Ephesus, and it was from there Paul hoped to visit Philemon at Colosse. (Cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 229–30).

2. *Crescens.*—He is said to have gone to Galatia. Scholars are practically unanimous in identifying this place with Gaul, reading *Γαλλίαν* for the text. We would simply indicate that the new historical setting supports the reading *Γαλατίαν*, and suggests that Crescens was the bearer of the Epistle to the Galatians. Should this suggestion regarding the mission of Crescens be entertained it might be possible to harmonise the North and South Galatian theories if it be not insisted upon that Galatians iv. 13 of necessity means two *visits* rather than

two intervals such as the time of the illness and the period of activity that followed convalescence. That matter cannot be now discussed, but we venture to think that the suggested mission of Crescens to Galatia at this time might eventually prove to be a vital detail in the matter of Paul's relation to the Churches of Galatia.

3. *Titus.*—Not to burden the reader with intricate details, it is only necessary to point out that by this time Titus had met Paul on his journey after bearing the "Intermediate Letter" to Corinth. He was absent when Paul wrote the passage under consideration to Timothy, having gone to Dalmatia. But he was again the bearer of 2 Corinthians written on this journey. It would appear, therefore, that the visit to Dalmatia was undertaken in the interval between rejoining Paul and leaving for Corinth with the second Epistle to make arrangements for the collection that Paul had already written about (1 Cor. xvi. 1 f.).

4. *Luke.*—"Only Luke is with me," writes Paul, not now, as usually explained, in disappointment because the other companions mentioned in Philemon and Colossians had deserted him, but for the reason that Demas had forsaken him and because the other companions had been sent on their respective missions, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia, Tychicus going to Ephesus. There is nothing to show that Aristarchus had accompanied Paul from Ephesus, and there is no reason why Epaphras and Justus should have done so. But Luke was with the apostle on this journey, and it would now be possible to identify him with one of the two unnamed brethren who accompanied Titus to Corinth (2 Cor. viii. 18, 19).

That Paul speaks in Colossians iv. 10 of Aristarchus as his "fellow-prisoner" would now suggest that he himself and the companion seized during the riot (Acts xix. 29) had suffered imprisonment at that time. This would account for Paul speaking of himself as a prisoner in Colossians iv. 3, Philemon 1.

5. *Mark.*—Timothy is told to bring Mark with him. That Timothy visited Paul in response to the request "do thy diligence to come shortly unto me" is substantiated by the fact that he is mentioned in the greetings of 2 Corinthians. He probably took Mark with him from Ephesus; for even if Mark visited Colosse as in Colossians iv. 10 he could have returned to Ephesus by this time, and the expression *ἀναλαβὼν* could mean

that Timothy was to take Mark in hand for further service. That this service was rendered seems very probable, for it would again be possible to identify Mark with the second of the unnamed brethren who assisted Titus in the matter of the collection at Corinth. Paul seems to have had this work in view for Mark when he bade Timothy bring him with him.

Nothing would be gained by discussing the view that Timothy "picked up" Mark at Colosse on the former's return from a supposed visit to his home at Lystra, for from the present historical situation there is no reason for believing that Timothy left Ephesus at all prior to visiting Paul at Nicopolis (since that is the place we know Paul intended to winter at) in response to "do thy diligence to come shortly unto me," and taking Mark with him "for he is useful to me for ministering."

6. *Tychicus.*—He was sent by the apostle to Ephesus, and it looks as if he was the bearer of the letter to Timothy, even as Crescens was the bearer of the Epistle to the Galatians a little previously. It might be possible also that Paul intended Tychicus to take charge of affairs at Ephesus during Timothy's absence on his visit to him.

7. *The cloak left at Troas.*—This detail can now but refer to the time Paul waited in vain at Troas for the return of Titus from Corinth whither he had gone with the letter of 2 Corinthians ii. 4. It points to the coming winter at Nicopolis, where, for all we know to the contrary, Titus rejoined the apostle. (Cf. Harrison, pp. 118, 121.)

8. *Alexander the Coppersmith.*—From the new setting there can be little doubt that this person is the Alexander mentioned during the riot at Ephesus (Acts xix. 33). Paul is referring to the harm recently done to him, and bids Timothy be on his guard. (Cf. Harrison, p. 118.)

It would now appear that the same person is also referred to in 1 Timothy i. 16, and that Hymenæus was of Ephesus. The latter thus would probably be the person referred to with Philetus in 2 Timothy ii. 18 as declaring that "the Resurrection is past already." This was a form of false teaching that troubled the Church at Corinth at the very time. (Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 12 f.)

Though this paper is primarily concerned with the historical details in this passage, it seems worth while making a passing

reference to this form of false teaching in view of the later heresies the Epistle is said to contain, and which cannot now be discussed, since for one reason the matter is disputed. (Cf. Harrison, p. 7.)

9. *The passage*—"*At my first defence. . . . Amen*" (16–18). —In the new set of circumstances this much discussed passage would appear to refer definitely to the recent Ephesian riot. Compared with Acts xix. 30–1, the words "no man took my part, but all forsook me" seem to have been literally true of Paul's experience. He was deserted by the "disciples" and the "chief officers of Asia."

If a second defence is implied in the passage we are not bound to conclude that it was not made on this occasion, seeing that the town clerk's interference was in Paul's favour, and that he spoke not of Paul alone but of "these men which are neither robbers of temples nor blasphemers of our goddess" (Acts xix. 37). If a second defence was made these words would seem to justify the inference that some of Paul's followers had summoned sufficient courage to associate themselves publicly with him. The Asiarchs might not have done so, but "these men" could mean the "disciples." (Cf. further obs. 10.)

If, again, 1 Corinthians xv. 32, "fought with beasts" is to be taken literally (cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 280), the phrase would but strengthen the conclusion that Ephesus was the place Paul had in mind in the passage. (Cf. McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 280 f.) In its new setting the whole passage fits exactly what is recorded of the riot at Ephesus in the Acts.

10. *Prisca and Aquila.*—It will be enough to indicate that they were still at Ephesus at the time (1 Cor. xvi. 14), not having left for Rome as in Romans xvi. 3. This fact is not affected by the possible Ephesian destination to portions of Romans xvi., but it clears up the difficulty of accounting for their presence at Ephesus after returning to Rome. There is no evidence that they returned from the capital, and the new historical setting makes such a supposition altogether unnecessary.

11. *The house of Onesiphorus.*—All that is involved in this phrase and in the similar expression in 2 Timothy i. 16 cannot now be discussed. But it would appear in the present circumstances that the expression does not at all imply the death of

Onesiphorus. Paul was only recently in his company, and he is referring to the help Onesiphorus had rendered him during the riot at Ephesus.

We would only add that since it might now be possible that the words "all that are in Asia" in 2 Timothy i. 15 refer to the same people as in the expression "all forsook me" in the passage under consideration (1 Tim. restored), the above phrase in 2 Timothy i. 16 even would not appear to imply the death of Onesiphorus.

It would indeed seem that since Paul writes definitely to Timothy "this thou knowest," that in 2 Timothy i. 15, 16 he is also referring to the riot at Ephesus, and accordingly to the fact that he had been bound by a chain in that city. For how else could Timothy have definitely known that "all that are in Asia" had turned away from the apostle? It cannot now be supposed that Timothy, while on a visit to Rome, had gleaned this information regarding certain people from Asia who had visited Paul in the capital, for from the present setting of history Timothy could not have visited Rome by this time. His one and only visit to Rome took place later on, and in response to the request of 2 Timothy iv. 21, "do thy diligence to come before winter."

But if, as suggested, Paul had in mind the Ephesian riot in 1 Timothy i. 15–16, Timothy would have known on the spot at Ephesus all about Onesiphorus' kindness, and everything about "all that are in Asia" deserting the apostle, for they would be the people of Acts xix. 30–1, and those meant by "all forsook me" in the restored passage of 1 Timothy.

It might also be asked, would not the opportunities to "oft refresh" be more likely at Ephesus than at Rome?

It would thus seem that in both references to the "house of Onesiphorus" Paul had in mind the Ephesian riot, though we are told in the following verse (2 Tim. i. 17) that Onesiphorus had also visited the apostle at Rome. That he met his death there is but an assumption based on nothing more tangible than the supposed meaning of the above expression.

12. *Erastus.*—It need only be indicated that he was the person who accompanied Timothy to Macedonia. (Cf. Harrison, p. 119.) The fact that Paul acquaints Timothy of the whereabouts of his recent companion suggests that Timothy himself had returned

to Ephesus without going to Corinth as originally intended. (Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10.)

13. *Trophimus.*—It cannot now be possible that Trophimus was left sick at Miletus after the trouble at Jerusalem during Paul's last visit to the city. Though no mention is made of his sickness in the Acts, he must have been left at Miletus some time during the Ephesian ministry. (Cf. Harrison, p. 121.) Timothy would be interested in Trophimus, as the latter was a native of Ephesus (Acts xxi. 29).

It has not been possible to discuss at length all that is involved in the details we have considered, but from the foregoing it will be seen that the passage as a whole can be fitted into the story of Paul's life immediately after the Ephesian ministry. It would appear to be a precious record of the latter part of the third missionary journey, and as such it would justify a reconsideration not only of the verdict that these historical details cannot in any possible way be fitted into one single period of Paul's life, but also of the question of the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. It is true that such questions as the language of the Epistles and the sub-apostolic matter they are said to contain have not entered into the foregoing considerations, but it is respectfully submitted that on historical grounds it would now be possible to maintain that 1 Timothy as restored was written on the journey through Macedonia to Achaia following the abrupt close of the Ephesian ministry, and that 2 Timothy without iv. 9–20 was written at Rome.

On historical grounds, again, it would now be possible to argue that the Epistle to Titus preceded 1 Timothy, and that it was written at Ephesus. The main consideration that points to this conclusion is the fact that the journey Paul refers to in Titus iii. 12 would appear from the present suggested reconstruction to be no other than the journey through Macedonia after leaving Ephesus.

Before making for Achaia and Corinth on this journey Paul wintered at Nicopolis, where presumably he wrote 1 Timothy.

Since Titus appeared at Ephesus in time to be the bearer of the letter of 2 Corinthians ii. 4, and is subsequently found in Paul's company on the Macedonian journey and sent on a mission to Dalmatia, it would seem that he must have arrived at Ephesus in response to the request "give diligence to come unto me to

Nicopolis, for there I have determined to winter" (Tit. iii. 12).

It is true that this would imply that Titus had come from Crete, but many scholars are of the opinion that Paul's visit to Crete was made during the stay at Corinth on the second missionary journey or during the Ephesian ministry, and Titus would have known from the bearers of the Epistle that Paul was at Ephesus, and he might well have made for that city to join Paul for the coming winter at Nicopolis.

It is appreciated that the matter is beset with difficulties, but it is submitted that from the present situation the one journey Paul had contemplated for some time was this journey through Macedonia to Achaia, wintering at Nicopolis on the way, and that this is the journey referred to in Titus iii. 12.

It would thus follow that the Epistle to Titus preceded 1 Timothy, and that it was probably written at Ephesus. On historical grounds accordingly the order of the Pastoral Epistles would be as follows:—(*a*) Titus; (*b*) 1 Timothy as restored; (*c*) 2 Timothy without iv. 9–20.

III.

A word might be added as to the sequence of the Pauline Epistles arising out of the present suggested reconstruction.

(*a*) If we are right in assuming that Crescens was the bearer of the Epistle to the Galatians, that Epistle preceded 1 Timothy, since it is in the restored passage Paul acquaints Timothy of Crescens' mission to Galatia.

(*b*) Since Demas forsook the apostle on the journey through Macedonia from Ephesus, Philemon and Colossians, in which he is spoken of as a "fellow-worker" were written before that journey was undertaken. Compare also what is suggested regarding Aristarchus under obs. 4.

(*c*) If Ephesians is to be identified with the Epistle at Laodicea mentioned in Colossians iv. 16, it was written before Colossians and Philemon, and since Timothy is mentioned in the greetings of these two Epistles it might be that Ephesians was written before Timothy arrived at Ephesus from Macedonia. This would support the view that *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* was not in the original text.

(*d*) The foregoing considerations suggest the following order for the Pauline Epistles:—

A. 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

B. 1 Corinthians, Titus, (Eph.) Philemon, Colossians, Galatians, 1 Timothy (as restored), 2 Corinthians, Romans.

C. 2 Timothy (without iv. 9–20), Philippians.

They might be grouped as follows :—

1. Corinthian Group—1 and 2 Thessalonians, (later) Romans.

2. Ephesian Group—1 Corinthians, Titus, (Eph.) Philemon, Colossians.

3. Macedonian or Nicopolis Group—Galatians, 1 Timothy, 2 Corinthians.

4. Roman Group—2 Timothy, Philippians.

It would follow from this that the outstanding period of Paul's literary activity was from the Ephesian ministry to the close of the third missionary journey, and that he wrote two epistles only—the one to his " beloved and faithful child in the Lord," the other to the Church that was his " joy and crown "—during his one and only imprisonment at Rome.

With regard to the very careful and minute comparisons made by Dr. Harrison between the language of the Pastorals and the ten Paulines it might be indicated that they are based upon the usual order given to these Epistles, and that if the present attempt at reconstruction is worth anything a case would appear to have been stated that would justify a reconsideration of the whole matter so scholarly dealt with by him in his book.

T. W. Llynfi Davies.

NOTES AND NOTICES OF RECENT CRITICISM.

2 TIMOTHY iii. 10.

Σὺ δὲ παρηκολούθησάς μου τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, τῇ ἀγωγῇ, τῇ προθέσει, τῇ πίστει, τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ, τῇ ὑπομονῇ, κ.τ.λ. Commentators do not seem to have noticed a similar use of *παρακολουθέω* in Justin Martyr's *Apol.* i. 16. He is describing how some pagans have been brought over to Christianity by the good example of Christian neighbours ; many, he declares, *ἐκ βιαίων καὶ τυράννων μετέβαλον, ἡττηθέντες ἢ γειτόνων καρτερίαν βίου παρακολουθήσαντες ἢ συνοδοιπόρων πλεονεκτουμένων ὑπομονὴν ξένην κατανοήσαντες. ἢ συμπραγματευομένων πειραθέντες.* Here, as in 2

Timothy iii. 10, *παρακολουθέω* corresponds to "follow" in our modern sense of the term, i.e. to watch carefully, to read the life as it unfolds itself like a book before our eyes. Three things seem to have impressed these pagans whom Justin knew: (*a*) Christians held firmly to their convictions, (*b*) when they were cheated by some fellow-traveller, they did not retaliate harshly, and (*c*) they were scrupulously honest in business. The impression is described by *παρακολουθήσαντες . . . ἢ κατανοήσαντες*.

HOPING AGAINST HOPE.

"Who against hope believed in hope," St. Paul writes of Abraham in Romans iv. 18. But how can one hope against hope? To hope against appearances to the contrary, is intelligible; so is to hope against despair and doubt. It is the paradoxical expression, to hope against hope, which sounds strange. The phrase is not one of those in our English version, like "world without end," or like "the world, the flesh, and the devil," which still defy the enquiries of a later day; it is a literal rendering of the Greek: *ὃς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν*, as literal as the Latin version ("qui contra spem in spem credidit"). "Hope" is used in a double sense. "Against (natural) hope (i.e. against the ordinary expectations of life, which forbade any hope of a son), he believed in hope"; *παρά* would thus be, as often elsewhere, the opposite of *κατά*. But its meaning might be better expressed by "beyond"; Abraham had passed beyond the limits of all natural hope, and yet he still hoped, being a man of faith. "Abraham, when hope was gone, hoped on in faith." Or, as Luther rendered the phrase, "Er hat geglaubet auf Hoffnung, da nichts zu hoffen war." Ordinary hopes of becoming a father have their limits. But Abraham dares to go beyond these limits and maintain hope—a hope based upon faith.

THE TWOFOLD WITNESS.

In John iii. 32–33, Jesus accredits Himself as the Truth. *Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος ὃ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει.* But anyone who does believe this testimony of Christ accredits also, as it were, the Truth: *ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισεν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν.*

(*a*) The first thought is that the whole life of Christ is adequate

evidence of God's real nature. This is reiterated in the Fourth Gospel, e.g., viii. 40 ("a man who has told you the truth, the truth I have learned from God"), and xviii. 37 ("This is why I was born, this is why I came into the world, to bear testimony to the truth"). Christ testifies to "what he has seen and heard," i.e., in heaven. What He is constitutes a true revelation of the unseen God. To see him is to see the Father. His *μαρτυρία* is His loyalty and devotion to the vocation of revealing the will of God. How this revelation is made, may be illustrated by a remark of Erskine of Linlathen in *The Spiritual Order* (pp. 250 f.). A son, he observes, may reveal his father's character in two ways. "Either by being like him—so entirely in his image as to be justified in saying, He that hath seen me hath seen my father—or by manifesting a constant reverential loving trust, and thus testifying that the father is worthy of such trust." Now Jesus the Son is represented as revealing God in both of these ways. His testimony to God comes out thus in His life among men, who by watching Him understand what the unseen Father is whom He obeys and thus accredits.

(*b*) It meets with small response; *καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει.* This echoes i. 11 ("his own folk did not welcome him"), but there as here the statement is at once qualified. Some did accept His testimony. And their adhesion to His cause affords to the world fresh evidence of the power of the cause. A believing man accredits God's purpose by his obedience to Christ. *Ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν.* The aorist participle *λαβών* presents no real difficulty; it does not refer to any definite person like John the Baptist, as Dr. E. A. Abbott thinks (*Johannine Grammar*, 2501). Grammatically this is unnecessary, and the paragraph, iii. 31–36, does not lie in its true place; it comes after iii. 21, without any relation to iii. 22–30, which follows ii. 12. The words mean, "whoever accepts his testimony (*λαβών* implying a reception which is a retention) certifies to the truth of God"; he shows that God is true, by adhering to the full truth of the divine revelation in Christ. This is the magnificence of faith. It evinces the power of God to win the human heart. The expression is daring, but it does justice to the fact that human faith exhibits the real force of God upon the soul, and thereby attests it openly (*ἐσφράγισεν*).

REVIEWS.

The Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament.[1]

The first volume of Strack and Billerbeck's Commentary, which is devoted to St. Matthew's Gospel, is in itself a truly monumental work, containing no less than 1,055 large printed pages. It forms the first of a series of four volumes, which are planned to embrace all the books of the New Testament. Volume II. is to be devoted to the remaining Gospels and Acts; volume III. to the Epistles and Revelation; and the final Volume (IV.) will include essays and discussions on special points of New Testament theology and archæology. It is much to be hoped that the publication of the remaining volumes will be made possible, in spite of the difficult conditions that prevail at present in Germany. Meanwhile we can be grateful for the abundant feast with which the authors have provided us in this first volume.

The book forms a veritable thesaurus—a *corpus* of material drawn from the Rabbinical and other Jewish literature, which is as exhaustive as such a collection can possibly be. It is as a collection of material that the work will prove invaluable, and as such it will take its place as the consummation of a line of investigation in which a distinguished band of scholars, especially of earlier generations, have taken an honourable part. By this tradition the names of the elder Lightfoot, Selden, Schoettgen, Wetstein and Nork, are linked up with those of Franz Delitzsch, Wünsche, and Edersheim. The task that confronts the present generation of New Testament scholars is to sift and utilize this material critically, thus making it available for scientific work. It may safely be said that no work is more urgent at the present time than the critical reconstruction of the Semitic background of the New Testament, and the appropriation of the results by up-to-date scholarship. In Strack and Billerbeck's work abundant material is provided for work of this kind, and in a readily accessible form. Extracts from the Rabbinical literature are given at length in accurate German renderings, important

[1] *Kommentar zum neuen Testament ans Talmud und Midrasch, von Herman L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck;* Band I., *Das Evangelium des Matthäus.* Munchen, 1922 (Beck).

Hebrew or Aramaic words being indicated from time to time. A further boon is the indication of dates when Rabbinical authorities are cited, as they are on every page. Besides the Rabbinical, other literature, especially apocalyptic, is frequently cited, and an especially valuable feature is the attention that is given to philological matters. Thus, to take an example, which will illustrate the method applied throughout: on Matthew v. 3 (*Blessed are the poor in spirit*), the Old Testament and Talmudic equivalents of *μακάριοι* are given, with act. ·l illustrative sentences; the use of the opposite expression ("Woe" = אוי) is also illustrated. Next, the Old Testament (Hebrew) equivalents or parallel expressions corresponding to "poor in spirit" are cited as well as the Aramaic equivalents in Targum, Talmud, and Midrash, and it is pointed out that the ordinary Hebrew word for "poor" (עני) is not used in this way conjoined to "spirit." A very interesting piece of exegesis follows on the Beatitude. All the relevant material is brought together in a compact form. Another good example is the treatment of the phrase *Kingdom of Heaven* (on Matt. iv. 17). This fills no less than 13 pages (pp. 172–84). A long section is devoted to the idea of the expression as it is used in the Rabbinical literature; the theology is first summarised, and then illustrated by actual passages (printed in translation in small type), point by point. By studying this massed evidence the exegete will gain an impression much truer than if he merely read a small detail in illustration. He will be able to enter, to some extent, into the atmosphere—a result that can otherwise be gained only by prolonged and deep study.

It has already been pointed out that citations are made, not only of the Rabbinical literature, but also of other Jewish literature (non-Rabbinic). This includes apocalyptic books like 1 and 2 Enoch, as well as such works as the Psalms of Solomon. It is decidedly useful to have parallel passages, drawn from so wide a range, gathered together and translated under one heading, or to illustrate a particular point. But the illustrative matter is not only exegetical; it embraces also archæological points. In this way we have useful collections of data regarding the Sea of Galilee (pp. 184–6) and the Mount of Olives (p. 840 f.), to cite but two examples. In an interesting note on fishers and fishing, it is pointed out (p. 186 f.) that only

one Rabbi is mentioned in the Rabbinical literature as (possibly having been a fisherman by trade, viz., R. Jose חחוֹרם (about 160 A.D.). This is curious. It is also noteworthy that in the older Rabbinical literature there appears to be no general estimate, either good or bad, of the fisherman's calling, though the sailor's calling is referred to.

Another point of interest that is mentioned is the vogue of the Parable in the Palestinian schools—it was one of the most favoured methods of illustration employed. It is pointed out (p. 654 f.) that the use of the parable is very rarely ascribed to the Babylonian doctors of the Law; it is thus to be regarded as essentially a product of Palestine. Remarkably enough, however, hardly any examples of its use in the pre-Christian period occur (only one, in fact, attributed to Hillel). These facts present a problem. Jesus was a great Master of the parabolic art; there are some remarkably close parallels between some of His parables and some which occur in later Rabbinic literature. It is difficult to suppose that the Rabbis directly borrowed from Jesus; but if not, was there a common source? Was the parabolic art specially cultivated in Galilee during the first century of our era? Geiger conjectured that Haggada was developed by one of the few Galilean Rabbis of the earlier period, R. Jose (early second century A.D.); and parable is intimately associated with the Haggada.

The authors of the commentary under review do not concern themselves with problems of this kind in the commentary. They are content to mass the material that is relevant for illustrating the text. Presumably we must wait for the final volume, which is to contain a series of special essays and excursuses, before we can discover what the attitude of the authors is to many interesting questions of this kind; and it is by no means certain that our curiosity will be satisfied even when the final volume appears. Thus we should like to know what the attitude of the authors is to the question of a possible Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original for the large sections of the discourse material in Matthew, which apparently is poetical in structure, and can readily be rendered back into Hebrew (or Aramaic) texts which present the rhythmical features of Hebrew poetry. In Matthew i. 20b–21 (the Annunciation to Joseph) we have an utterance which, when translated into Hebrew, exhibits the

rhythm of Hebrew poetry, and contains a play on the name "Jesus" ("for he shall save" = Hebrew יוֹשִׁיעַ) which is possible *only* in Hebrew and *not* in Aramaic. It is possible that we have in this verse and a half an extract from a Hebrew poem akin to the poems of the Nativity in Luke i.–ii. No mention is made of these phenomena, however, by our authors. On the other hand, in their comments on the famous verse Matthew xvi. 18 ("Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock," etc.) they make an extraordinarily interesting suggestion. If the clause is translated back into Aramaic, it will run: אוֹף אֲנָא אֲמַר לָךְ אַתְּ פֶּטְרוֹם, which would mean: *I also say unto thee, thee, Peter*—not *I say unto thee, Thou art Peter*, which would require אַתְּ הוּא פטרום. The authors think that the original Aramaic was misunderstood and mistranslated; and they explain the meaning of the saying to be: "*I say unto thee, Peter* (because thou hast been the first to recognise and acknowledge explicitly my Messiahship and my position as Son of God): *upon this Rock* (i.e. the fact of my Messiahship and position as God's Son) *I will build my Church.* It may be added that the emphasising of the force of a pronominal suffix by repeating immediately after it the corresponding personal pronoun in its independent form is a well-known Semitic idiom, common to Hebrew and Aramaic. In the same context we have given us a series of elaborate notes on *ἐκκλησία*, "binding and loosing," etc. Among a multitude of important things, we may, perhaps, call attention to the following: the collection of passages dealing with the three cardinal sins (fornication, idolatry, murder), pp. 255 ff.; the terms for *forgiveness* (p. 495), the note on angels (p. 781 f.), on Metatron (p. 470), and on *σὺ εἶπας* (p. 990 f., cf. p. 1006). On p. 527 the well-known saying of R. Tarphon (see *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 15) is quoted in the usual form: "*The day is short, the work is great*," etc. It seems a pity that the attractive alternative rendering (which merely involves the alteration of a point) is *not* mentioned: *To-day is Harvest* (*ḳāṣîr* for *kāsēr*).

We can only say in conclusion that this truly magnificent and monumental work will be indispensable to all serious students of the New Testament.

G. H. Box.

Psalmenstudien, III. *Kultprophetie und Prophetische Psalmen.* Von Sigmund Mowinckel. Kristiania: 1923.

THE Norwegian scholar is developing, and incidentally modifying, at some minor points, the theses of his earlier and remarkable essays on the psalter; e.g. (i.) that some of the mournful psalms are cries for deliverance from sickness produced by sorcerers, who have practised the black art of magic upon the sufferer, and (ii.) that a group of psalms represents the hymns at a Hebrew feast which celebrated Yahweh's accession. It is the second hypothesis which is mainly followed in this pamphlet. Dr. Mowinckel is convinced that the psalms are liturgical. This is widely recognised nowadays, although some scholars are not inclined to regard all or even the majority as originally liturgical. He regards the psalter as containing evidences of the early cult of Israel. "Our biblical psalms are, with quite few exceptions, composed as psalms of the cultus." In support of his thesis about the accession group of psalms he adduces evidence from the Babylonian ceremonies at the new year festival. But the parallel is not quite convincing. We do not possess for Israel anything like the exact knowledge of what rites were practised at the autumn or the new year festival, such as is available for Babylonia. It is largely a matter of inference for these Hebrew psalms. And Dr. Mowinckel has to amend his texts sometimes, in order to fit them in to his theory. However, the vital contention of the present monograph is that the prophets were connected with such cults as the psalter presupposes, and in defence of this view he brings forward some attractive and original arguments. The trite criticism applies here, that one learns from these stimulating pages even when one disagrees with them.

The prophets were connected with the cultus. They might denounce it now and then, but there was a prophetic element even in the priests occasionally. Dr. Mowinckel will not accept "prophetic" as merely an equivalent for "ethical and anti-cultic"; he interprets it in a broad sense as a description of persons inspired by God to declare His will, in reply to a prayer or enquiry on the part of the worshipper. The sacramental, as distinguished from the sacrificial, element of the cultus, i.e., words, answers to prayers, blessings, etc., may be mediated by a specially inspired priest, or member of the sacerdotal order.

In Israel the "seer" is older than the *nabi*; the latter is a general, Canaanite phenomenon, but the "seer" is apparently a specific product of Israelite religion. Dr. Mowinckel claims Samuel as the typical "seer." It is true that he is called a *nabi* in 1 Samuel iii. 20, 21 ("Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord. The Lord revealed Himself to Samuel at Shiloh by the word of the Lord"), but this is set aside as an editorial gloss. Now Samuel is associated with the priesthood and sacrifices. Moses again is a seer; the passages which make him a *nabi* are later, Deuteronomistic versions (Deut. xviii. 15, xxxiv. 10, Hosea xii. 14). The "seer" develops into the *nabi*, but originally he was connected with the cultus; only, the ordinary life of the people had recourse to oracular answers of God through the "seer," as an ecstatic visionary, rather than as a liturgical leader. In the later period, there were temple-prophets (Jeremiah xxix. 26), and their methods of giving oracular answers are reflected in some of the psalms. Thus Psalm lxxxvi. 17, "shew me a token for good," means a sacrificial, formal sign, like the prayer "give me a good sign," in the Babylonian psalms. The oracles were in rhythmical, poetic form. In fact, there was a more or less stereotyped form of conveying the divine reply.

After this introductory chapter (pp. 1–29) Dr. Mowinckel (pp. 30 f.) proceeds to apply and illustrate his hypothesis. First, he discusses the psalms on Yahweh's accession-day (pp. 30–63), i.e., psalms i., lxxv., lxxxi., lxxxii., lxxxvii, lxxxix. 20–38, xcv., and cxxxii., celebrating yearly the Creation, the Exodus from Egypt, and the founding of the worship at Jerusalem; this celebrates God's judgments in nature and history, also the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem. Now the prophetic oracular style is heard in several passages like cxxxii. 11–18 and in lxxxix. 20–38. Some psalms were written for occasional services (pp. 64–77), e.g., xx., xxi., lx., and cviii. Then the four "royal" psalms (pp. 78–100) are analysed, i.e., ii., xlv., lxxii., and cx. Finally, three psalms, xii., lxii., and xci., are studied (pp. 101–105) as liturgical pieces.

The mixture of prophetic inspiration and psalm-spirit is traced in the books of Joel and Habbakuk (pp. 27 f.). The *nabi* Habakkuk is the author of the Habakkuk-psalm, which is pre-exilic. One result of Mowinckel's hypothesis is that he often is able to claim an earlier origin for psalms and similar prophetic

pieces than is commonly the case. He even (pp. 91 f.) holds that Psalm cx. must be put early; "the earlier we date this psalm, the more likely becomes the appeal to Melchizedek instead of to David." Similarly, he will not hear of a post-exilic origin for lxxxix. 20–38 (pp. 34 f.). The data he adduces are often a reason for hesitating, at any rate, to relegate some of the psalms to a post-exilic or Maccabean date.

But Dr. Mowinckel presses his theory too far. It is very difficult, for example, to believe that Psalm xci. is a fragment of some liturgy, in which verses 14–16 are the divine oracle in answer to the harassed saint (pp. 102 f.); indeed, we are told that both parts of the extant psalm are responses made by different priests, the first speaking indirectly, the second directly in the name of Yahweh. Dr. Mowinckel thinks that the later Jewish use of the psalm as an amulet against demons reflects its original meaning. What the good man desired to be delivered from was the supernatural malign power of evil spirits. In this he has been anticipated, one may remark, by Dr. Oesterley in *The Psalms in the Jewish Church* (pp. 233 f.), where this psalm is interpreted as "a polemic, in devotional form, against current methods of securing oneself against demons"; the psalmist knows a better way than recourse to incantations against "the terror by night." To trust God is the best security. Indeed Dr. Oesterley interprets verse 1 thus: "He who abides under protection of the Most High passes the night" safely, the night being the time when demons were most active. This view seems preferable to that of Dr. Mowinckel, if the psalm has to be connected with the dread of hostile spirits.

Altogether, this is a monograph fertile in suggestions and in the best sense of the term provocative. The further study of the psalter will have to take account of Dr. Mowinckel's fresh scholarship and independent exegesis.

* * * * *

The Decalogue: being the Warburton Lectures delivered in Lincoln's Inn and Westminster Abbey, 1919–1923. By R. H. Charles, D.D., D.Litt., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1923. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

First, a critical study (pp. i.–lxiv.) showing (a) that Moses wrote the original decalogue between 1320 and 1300 B.C., each command consisting of a short, single sentence. "1. Thou shalt

have none other gods beside me. 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image. 3. Thou shalt not take the name of thy God in vain. 4. Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou shalt do no murder. 7. Thou shalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou shalt not steal. 9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. 10. Thou shalt not covet." Partly along the lines recently and independently followed by Hans Schmidt, Dr. Charles argues (pp. xlix.–liv.) that there is no reason to doubt the composition of such a code by Moses. If the second commandment, for example, was widely ignored in Israel, non-observance does not mean non-existence. (b) This form of the decalogue is recovered by stripping the later forms of their catechetical accretions, which began to rise as early as the eighth century B.C. Here the form of the decalogue in the Nash papyrus (second century B.C.) is important, since it reflects in the main the seventh century Deuteronomic decalogue. Dr. Charles enters into the intricacies of Pentateuchal literary criticism in some detail. Thus he argues, partly in agreement with Klostermann and Rothstein, that the primitive decalogue is presupposed in Exodus xx. 22–xxiii. 33 (the so-called Book of the Covenant), that the decalogue in Exodus xxxiv. is secondary to that in Exodus xx. (c. 900 B.C.), and that even the latter has been altered and expanded, though hardly more than the other and earlier form in Deuteronomy v. But what emerges out of these discussions is the conclusion that the original decalogue was drawn up for a people still in the nomadic stage; the later accretions are water-marks of the later passage into an agricultural settled civilisation.

The lectures proper (pp. 1–272) are incisive historical and expository discussions. The second and the fourth commandments receive three each, the sixth two, and the others one a-piece. In dealing with the second commandment, he gives faithful wounds to Mariolatry. "It would have been sheer dishonesty on my part," he declares, to have ignored such an idolatrous development, particularly since similar views "have of late been making inroads into the ranks of the Anglican clergy." The commandments certainly offer an expositor the opportunity for plain speaking, and Dr. Charles does not miss it. He has always the courage of his opinions. Thus, while he is strong

upon the value of the Sunday as a day of rest and worship, he shows that Sunday rest does not "inhibit the right use of healthy recreations. And innocent recreations, whether public or private, should be permissible on Sunday." He suggests certain limitations. Sunday games ought not to clash with the hours of public worship. Nor ought they to involve organised labour on the part of other people. Which rules out theatrical performances, league football, etc. Alcohol, again, has its right use; but the existing liquor trade involves a real violation of the sixth commandment. The eighth commandment suggests a piquant discussion of Communism and Socialism; so does the tenth. Syndicalism and Guild Socialism are ignored as being "in the main organised roguery." Dr. Charles applies the commandment widely and freshly, even to the mean and artful dodge of living in this country for six months and spending the rest of the year abroad, so as "legally to escape the payment of Income Tax." In short, this is a decidedly pungent and up-to-date exposition. Preachers will find it of true value in prompting the application of the decalogue to modern life. For it is a merit of these lectures that while they dig to the literary and historical origin of the decalogue, they bring out its wealth of meaning for all ages.

There is a slight misprint on p. 101, where Kipling's line about watching "the things you gave your life to, broken," is printed without a comma after "to." And we miss two things. One is a discussion of the criticisms passed upon the decalogue for its inadequacy. This is an ethical topic, on which we should have liked to hear Dr. Charles' opinions. The other is, some reference to the remarkable paragraphs on the decalogue in the seventeenth century Scottish Catechism, which is second to none in its range and depth of exposition. What could be more apt, for example, than the answer to the question, "What are the sins forbidden in the eighth commandment?" "The sins forbidden in the eighth commandment are: theft, robbery, man-stealing, and receiving anything that is stolen, fraudulent dealing, false weights and measures, removing landmarks, injustice and unfaithfulness in contracts between man and man, or in matters of trust; oppression, extortion, usury, bribery, vexatious lawsuits, unjust inclosures and depopulations, ingrossing commodities to enhance the price, unlawful callings, and all

other unjust or sinful ways of taking or withholding from our neighbour what belongs to him, or of enriching ourselves; envying at the prosperity of others, as likewise idleness, prodigality, wasteful gaming," etc. A searching appeal to the social conscience!

CURRENT LITERATURE.

Beginner's Grammar of the Greek New Testament. By Professor W. H. Davis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Hodder and Stoughton, 10*s.* 6*d.*

This is an elementary book intended for those who are starting the subject, and starting without any teacher. It is compiled by an American scholar, who obviously knows his business. He makes the elements of the language plain, brings out the force of cases and prepositions, and avoids any unduly technical terms. I cannot say that "Aktionsart" is an attractive or even an inevitable word in a popular grammar. But on the whole Professor Davis manages to do without such choke-pears, and to work line upon line, precept upon precept. The clear printing and general lucidity of the pages make it a decidedly welcome manual for beginners. There is nothing here to deter them; on the contrary, everything that is reasonable has been done to render the study of the subject attractive and inviting.

* * * * *

Death: its Cause and Conquest. By the Rev. J. L. N. Pheasant. Vicar of North Kelsey. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1s. 6*d.*

This paper, originally read before a clerical society, is modestly called "A Suggestion." Blending science and faith, it argues that God's intervention in the case of man's sin was determined by the facts of the Fall, which corrupted human nature and made natural reproduction necessary. "Reproduction," according to Mr. Pheasant, "is the outcome of life necessitated by death," because it means the original life persisting, preserving its type at the expense of the individual. Man, by sin, condemned himself to this lower form of existence. Consequently, it is held, Jesus must have been born of a Virgin, since otherwise He would have borne in His nature the seeds of death, i.e. a life forfeited

from the first. The human nature which He did carry had to die, and His death was "the death of all that was human in Him," of instincts like the desire for sympathy, the craving for justice, the sense of personal dignity, the sense of personal satisfaction in an accomplished work, and so forth. (These pages are distinctly impressive.) Then dying, He rose, fulfilling the original purpose of God for human life. He resumed His body, Mr. Pheasant contends. To the suggestion that it is difficult to conceive this, he replies that the only difficulty is that this is "contrary to our ordinary experience." But then "our ordinary experience is the experience of fallen creatures in a fallen world." And, "we know best those things we cannot define." Dr. Tudor Jones' small handbook, which we have already noticed, will probably clear the ordinary mind, which finds Mr. Pheasant's speculations slightly opaque.

* * * * *

Our Great High Priest. By the late Rev. James Neil, M.A. London: Stanley Martin & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A simple exposition of the high priesthood of Christ, as stated in the English text of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is anti-sacerdotal. Thus, from Hebrews vii. 23, 24, "He hath a priesthood which passes not to another," we are meant to learn "the awful sin of those who, as sacrificing priests, have thrust themselves uncalled into the office of Christ, and have wickedly usurped His priestly functions."

* * * * *

The second volume of *The Local Colour of the Bible* (T. and T. Clark, 8*s.* net) completes the Old Testament literature. Its range extends from the books of Kings to the prophet Malachi. These books do not yield Dr. Budden and Mr. Hastings quite so much wealth of opportunity as the earlier books; now and then an abstract or outline of the book is printed, and in the case of the Song of Solomon all that is added is a couple of pages about henna. But teachers of Bible classes may find material here for illustrating their lessons. A number of bright paragraphs are quoted, and there is a succession of paragraphs with information about geography, history, and social customs; thus Joel is illustrated by a description of locusts, and the book of Daniel by some details about lions. The general effect of the book is to make the text of the Bible more intelligible. This is done by explaining

its oriental background. A fair specimen of the method occurs on p. 5, where the oriental belief in dreams is adduced in order to explain Genesis xxxvii. 6 f. "Bedawin Arabs . . . will recount it [a dream] in all its details without the slightest regard for the effect it may have upon the listeners; the latter may occupy a position of inferiority in the narrative to which it is distinctly unpleasant for them to listen, but a dream is a dream, and no feeling will alter it, or change the course of events flowing from it. Thus the recital of Joseph's dreams places him in an unfavourable light, but it is true to oriental nature. Had the dream been in his disfavour, he would still have recounted it without hesitation."

* * * * *

Two American professors, Dr. H. E. Dana and Dr. Julius R. Mantry, have collaborated in the composition of *A Manual for the Study of the Greek New Testament* (Texas, U.S.A.; $2.50). It presupposes an elementary acquaintance with Greek, and provides the beginner with a preliminary outline of the main data in New Testament Greek accidence and syntax. The printing is not very accurate; forms like "Wescott," "Deissman," and "Ramsey," are too common. Also, it is doubtful whether young students should be perplexed by details of comparative grammar at this stage. Otherwise, the outline is well laid out. It is a compilation which may help those who have no access to larger works like those of Burton and Moulton.

* * * * *

Mr. Ernest F. Champness calls his small book on *The Significance of Life* (London: The Swarthmore Press, 2*s*.) "a short study in Theism." He seems to be oppressed by the effect of the Great War. To those who saw and see in it one of the great moral issues of this generation, Mr. Champness replies plaintively that it "merely crushed men's aspirations and benumbed their faith." He sets himself to revive his faith. Agnosticism he dismisses as inadequate. He argues that the human spirit implies a Creative Spirit, which breathes into man his æsthetic and moral faculties as well as reason; also, that in prayer the human spirit is in touch with an enfolding spirit of God; furthermore, that while man requires social reform, he has still deeper needs and cravings, which imply God or a divine Universe. Finally, the author reaches the conclusion that man's hope lies in his position

as the child of a universe which means well to the human spirit, and which calls for thought and prayer and aspiration. "Christianity stirred and shook men with the thunder and lightning of a mighty ideal; its garments of myth and legend are falling away, but its soul remains."

* * * * *

The activity of the Anglican Evangelical Group Movement continues. A fresh batch of their tracts (price 3*d.* each) has been issued by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton:—

The Holy Spirit in the Christian Life. By S. C. Lowry, M.A.
Prayer in Practice. By E. A. Burroughs, D.D.
The Sacramental Presence. By R. T. Howard, M.A.
Holy Communion. By E. P. Boys-Smith, M.A.
Christianity and the Social Order. By T. A. Gurney, LL.B.
Church Reform. By R. Webb Odell, B.A.
Ritual and Ceremonial. By H. L. C. de Candolle, M.A.
Sin and Forgiveness. By R. G. Parsons, M.A.
The World in which Christianity Arose. By Edwyn Bevan, D.Litt., LL.D.

The common denominator of these tracts, as of their predecessors, is a conviction "that Christianity has nothing to fear from criticism or new discovery," and the writers have the faculty of popular statement; they succeed in showing how vital and progressive is the central evangelical faith. In the true sense of the term, this series deals with "fundamental" issues.

Mr. Lowry pleads, among other things, for a recognition by his fellow-churchmen of the truth that the activities of the Spirit are less rigid than is commonly supposed. Thus, "Church-people value a weekly communion; Presbyterians communicate only at long intervals. Is it not possible that what they lack by infrequent reception is in some measure supplied by their more frequent study of the Bible? Even a printed page may be a sacrament of the Spirit." The Dean of Bristol's tract on prayer is a gem of good sense and spiritual perception. Mr. Howard and Mr. Boys-Smith re-state the evangelical truth of the Presence in the Communion Service. Mr. Gurney points the Church to the Kingship of Christ, with its basis in redemption, its principle of righteousness, its sphere in humanity, its outcome in brotherhood, and its rule of love. He quotes effectively this inscription from a tablet in Capetown Cathedral, in memory of a journalist:

"He looked forward and made some beginnings." Mr. Odell urges the Church to recognise fully the rights of the laity, and offers some practical suggestions upon organisation and finance, while Canon de Candolle pleads for adherence to the English customs instead of the Roman, in order to check "that progressive assimilation of our worship to Roman standards which is so humiliating a spectacle to all truly loyal Anglicans." Mr. Parsons does useful service in explaining what is really meant by "original sin," and Dr. Bevan's authoritative pages show, among other things, that the Hellenistic mystery-religions furnish no origin for the Lord's supper.

* * * * *

Dr. G. F. Moore's eight lectures on *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (T. and T. Clark: 6*s*.) travel along a well-trodden road, but they are easily read and pleasantly written. Religion is discovered in the negative impulse of self-preservation and the corresponding positive impulse of self-realisation. This is described as "the universal motive in religion." It leads to attempts to conciliate or repel supernatural powers which threaten life. The difference between magic and religion is that the former means a belief on the part of men that "their acts are effective of themselves in working nature, or *coerce* the spirits to do what men want," whereas religion covers what men do in order to "*persuade* spirits or gods to protect their worshippers and give them their hearts' desire" (p. 41). The subsequent lectures develop the usual argument about the origin of morality, faith in immortality, and the various conceptions of what kind of salvation was needful. There is no index to the book, and occasionally the discussion is compressed rather than lucid. The conclusion, for example, is that "the intellectual victory of Christianity over all the rival salvations of the time was due to the fact that it alone offered not merely a way of salvation but a philosoply of salvation." Historically, this is accurate. But it requires to be set in a larger framework than Dr. Moore offers. However, those who are already familiar with the subject will find it interesting to read this outline of religious evolution, which is a compendious abstract of the ideas worked out in the author's larger volumes on *The History of Religions*.

INDEX.

PAGE

Rev. Professor H. T. Andrews, D.D.

Modern New Testament Criticism and the Evangelical Faith 185

Rev. Professor J. H. Baxter, B.D.

Review of A. F. Findlay's *Byways in Early Christian Literature* 234

Rev. W. S. Bishop, D.D.

Babes in Christ and Fullgrown Men 374

Rev. Canon G. H. Box, D.D.

Review of Strack and Billerbeck's *Kommentar* . . 459

Vacher Burch, D.Litt.

The Temptations of Jesus Christ 366

W. W. Cannon.

The Text of Hosea 24, 87, 176, 251

Rev. Principal Sydney Cave, D.D.

Rebirth or Immortality 103
The Ten Best Books on the Life and Teaching of St. Paul . 325

Rev. Llynfi Davies, M.A.

Pauline Readjustments 446

Rev. Professor Adolf Deissmann.

John ii. 4 390

Rev. H. J. Flowers, B.D.

The Ten Commandments 339
The First Commandment 416

Rev. Professor William Fulton, D.D., B.Sc.

The Ten Best Books on the Person of Christ. . . 164

Rev. D. W. Greenfield, M.A.

Reviews 153, 398

PAGE

Hermann Gunkel.
The Secret Experiences of the Prophets . . 356, 427

J. Rendel Harris.
The Encratites and the Marriage at Cana . . . 121

Rev. Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc., D.D.
The Ten Best Books on the Teaching of Jesus . . 84
The Logos-Doctrine of St. Paul 54
Review of Dr. Oman's *Revelation* 232

Rev. Robert Kilgour, D.D.
The Oldest Manuscript of St. John's Gospel in Coptic . 303

Rev. J. H. Leckie, D.D.
Reviews 72

Rev. Professor W. M. Macgregor, D.D.
Review of Rocheblave's *Joseph de Maistre* . . . 155

Rev. Professor John R. Mackay.
"Knowledge" and "Revelation" in Hebrew . . 139

Rev. Professor H. R. Mackintosh, D.D.
Jesus' Forgiveness of the Sinful 206
Review of Dr. Raven's *Apollinarianism* 146

Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A.
Ecclesiastes viii. 10 94

Rev. L. A. Muirhead, D.D.
The Ten Best Books on the Fourth Gospel . . . 243

Rev. W. D. Niven, M.A.
Reviews 312

Rev. A. M. Pope, B.D.
Paul's Reminiscences of Jesus 283

Rev. W. H. Rigg, M.A.
Does the First Epistle of Peter throw any Light on the Johannine Problem? 221

Rev. Professor T. H. Robinson, B.D.
The Ten Best Books on the Psalms 6
Metre and Textual Criticism 266

Rev. Professor A. T. Robertson, D.D.
Wrong Chapter and Verse Divisions in the New Testament 435

PAGE

Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D.

Reviews 62, 148

Rev. Alexander Souter, M.A.

John ii. 4 297

Professor W. B. Stevenson, D.Litt.

The Ten Best Books on the Value and Use of the Old Testament 404

Review of Sir G. A. Smith's *Jeremiah* 143

Rev. R. H. Strachan, D.D.

Messenger and Master 147

Rev. S. Tonkin.

The Preacher and the Twelve 31

Alban G. Widgery.

The Ethical in Hindu Aphorisms 43

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED.

PAGE

Archibald Allan's *The Transfiguration of Jesus* . . . 313

Lord Balfour's *Theism and Thought* 312

L. E. Bennett's *The Realm of God* 74

J. A. Bewer's *Literature of the Old Testament* . . . 306

W. S. Bishop's *Spirit and Personality* 398

W. A. Brown's *Imperialistic Religion and the Religion of Democracy* 154

R. H. Charles' *The Decalogue* 465

Evangelism in the Modern World 153

A. F. Findlay's *Byways in Early Christian Literature* . . 234

Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament* . . 61

E. J. Goodspeed's *The New Testament, An American Translation* 398

J. O. Hannay's *Can I be a Christian?* 69

H. R. Mackintosh's *Some Aspects of Christian Beliefs* . . 72

S. Mowinckel's *Kultprophetie und Prophetische Psalmen* . 463

J. Oman's *The Book of Revelation* 232

C. E. Raven's *Apollinarianism* 146

G. W. Richards' *Christian Ways of Salvation* . . . 310

S. Rocheblave's *Étude sur Joseph de Maistre* . . . 155

E. Sellin's *Introduction to the Old Testament* . . . 59

Sir G. A. Smith's *Jeremiah* 143

Strack and Billerbeck's *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament I.* 459

T. Walker's *The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age* 308

INDEX TO SUBJECTS DISCUSSED

	PAGE
Babes in Christ	374
Bible, Influence of the	81, 83, 321
Bahaism	148
Commandment, The First	416
Commandments, The Ten	339
Commandments, Some Recent Works on	392
Deuteronomy, Date of	230
Encratites and the Marriage at Cana	121
Ecclesiastes viii. 10	94
Eschatology	2 f., 243
Fourth Gospel, Ten Best Books on the	243
Fourth Gospel and its Oldest Coptic MS.	303
Hindu Aphorisms, The Ethical in	43
Hosea, Text of	24, 87, 176, 251
Immortality	103, 242
Inspiration	3
Jesus Christ, The Person of	82, 161, 164, 323
Jesus Christ, The Teaching of	84
Jesus Christ, Temptations of	324, 366
Jesus Christ and Forgiveness	206
John, First Epistle of	56
John ii. 4	297, 390
John iii. 32–33	457
Joy	162
Kid, Seething a	322
"Knowledge" and "Revelation" in Hebrew	139
Luke iii. 1	140
Metre and Textual Criticism	266
Monotheism, Hebrew	241 f.
Montanists, The	58
Nahum i. 5	54
New Testament Criticism	185
New Testament Literature, Recent Work on	141
Nicolaitans, The	57
Nineveh, When Destroyed?	53
Old Testament, Ten Best Books on the	404
Paul, St.	127, 325, 446
Paul, St., Logos-doctrine of	54
Paul's Reminiscences of Jesus	283
Paulinism, Recent Literature on	63
Peter, First Epistle of	221
Plato, Two Parallels from	231
Prayer, The Lord's	82 f.
Preacher and the Twelve, The	31
Prophets, Secret Experiences of	356
Psalms, Ten Best Books on the	6
Rom. iv. 18	457
Second Timothy iii. 10	456
Second Timothy iv. 9 f.	446
Sermons I have Never Heard	396
Verse and Chapter Divisions in N.T.	401, 435
Zechariah v. 5 f.	140

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., Frome and London

Da
GTU Library
3 2400 00276 5695

Expositor
ser.9
v.1
1924:1

O.T. 1021'58
Res.

DEC 3 '71
JUN 2 '74
FEB 20 '78
MAR 9 '78
MAR 26 '79
APR 23 '79
MAR 4
JUN 16 '78

AN 81965
1965

CBPac